ETHNOGRAPHY

HAVEMEYER

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ETHNOGRAPHY

BY

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PREFACE

For some time I have felt the need of a textbook in ethnography. Believing that the facts about the life of primitive people are in the highest degree significant for the development of social evolution, I have resorted to all the available texts, and to various devices, to get a learnable selection of these facts before my students. In this effort I feel that I have been but partially successful.

Most books on ethnography are either very special or, if they aim to be general, are too diffuse, controversial, technical, or otherwise unfitted for the beginner. In the effort to be encyclopedic some of them have, for example, introduced unrelated and unessential details about tribes concerning which little is known except such scattering details as a legend or two, or some few facts about one or two aspects of their social life.

My plan is to select a few tribes under the main races about which we know, on reliable authority, practically all the typical and significant facts; and then to describe such groups according to one general system, treating first of their environmental and racial characters, and then setting forth the main aspects of their self-maintenance, self-perpetuation, self-gratification, religion, and regulative organization. Such a method of treatment follows the system originally used by Professor William Graham Sumner of Yale University and will, I think, help the student to gain a perspective of the life of these people.

This book lays no claim to originality of material any more than would an elementary textbook in history. It is supposed to supply a set of facts drawn from the most reliable sources upon which the development of a science of society may rest. I have excluded everything that is not a matter of agreement on the part of nearly all competent authorities. These facts I have not attempted to interpret, leaving matters of that sort to the discretion of the reader. Such maps and illustrations have been included as seemed useful in bringing out and clarifying the text.

I have not touched on the main branches of the white or yellow races. To do them even partial justice would require much more space than could possibly be devoted to them in a text of this size.

About ten years ago I privately printed sixteen chapters of this book, and since that time I have been using them in my classes with great success. The students have been able to get the more essential details of the life of the peoples and to apply them in the discussion on social evolution. For this reason I feel that a volume of this sort has a place in the classrooms of American colleges and universities; and it is solely to meet this need that my efforts have been directed.

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THE BLACK RACE

PRINCIPAL RACIAL GROUPS SOUTH OF THE SAHARA

AFRICAN BLACKS

CHAPTER I

BUSHMEN

Environment. Nearly all the Bushmen live along the edges of and in the Kalahari Desert of South Africa. This region is one of the most barren in the world; no human group would ever have come to inhabit this waste except under compulsion. The flora and fauna are most meager and the water supply is extremely scanty. Hence the struggle for existence is very arduous, and the numbers are small (in the Kalahari about 5000, of whom 3000 to 3500 are still of unmixed blood) and widely scattered.

Physical features. The Bushmen in their physique show the result of long privation and of a bitter struggle with a hard environment. With the exception of the scattered Pygmy groups they are the shortest race of men, averaging about four feet six inches. The build is slight; the limbs lean, almost emaciated. Even the children lack the roundness of outline common in most other races, although they possess a very pendulous belly. Practically the only fat on the body is on the buttocks and it is reported that frequently women who are seated are not able to rise without assistance. The skin is leathery, reddish-yellow in color, and dry in quality, seeming to fit the emaciated body too loosely, and becoming wrinkled at an early age, so that it falls into strong folds about the belly and at the joints. The head characters are relative smallness; dolichocephaly; moderate prognathism; nose depressed at the root and turned up at the tip; squareness of the full face (prominent cheek bones and broad underjaw), so that it has been compared in shape to a rectangle; eyes wide apart, and squinted (this quality and the furrowed brow going with life in the dazzling light of the desert); lips moderately everted. The individual hairs of the head are rolled into tight knots; there is very little hair on the face or body, but

what is there is of a weak, stubbly nature. In the old the hair becomes gray, but baldness is seldom seen. The lumbar vertebræ are so mobile that the people can curl up like dogs into a small space. The hands and feet are very small. The characteristic negro odor is absent. They have greater physical endurance (for example, in running) than strength, and can go for a long time without food and water, recovering soon from the effects. Their senses are very acute.

A BUSHMAN

Courtesy of the Philadelphia Commercial Museum

Character and history. The Bushman has truly been characterized as "the unfortunate child of the moment"; for he is living entirely from hand to mouth with no thought for the morrow. He has been driven back from the fertile plains by the encroachments of the whites and of the stronger native tribes. In the early days of European settlement in South Africa regular plans were laid and partly carried out for the wholesale destruction of the Bushmen; and the natural result was the embitterment of the native peoples against the whites. This showed itself in raids made on the outlying farms, when the cattle were driven off in large numbers. It is little wonder, then, that the hand of the Bushmen has been turned against every man, for they have felt that every man's hand was against them. Yet, like many primitive people, they denominate themselves "Men" (*Kwai*) in distinction from other inferior mortals.

"They have one ennobling quality, possessed no doubt equally by the beasts: a love of freedom, in which the Bushmen are superior to all other Africans. Unlike the Hottentot, the Bushmen never bowed to the yoke of slavery. In captivity the wild impulse of the genuine son of nature towards freedom never deserts him. Hence a destructive

warfare born of savage hatred against all, whether white or black, who wish to limit this impulse; and above all against the herds which cut short the borders of his hunting grounds." [1]

Language. The Bushman language is, in general, agglutinative; its striking peculiarity is the use of certain clicking sounds, which take the place of consonants and are made by drawing the tongue suddenly away from certain parts of the roof of the mouth, the gums, or the

SMALL BUSHMAN HORDE AT REITFONTEIN, TRANSVAAL, AFRICA

These are the only known Bushmen in the Republic who speak their own language. (Courtesy of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University)

teeth; of these clicks there are as many as eight varieties. It is with great difficulty that they are imitated by a foreigner.

Self-maintenance. The Bushmen are an out-and-out hunting people, without any thought of cattle-raising or agriculture. So hard are the conditions under which they live that there has been developed an extreme dexterity and cleverness in self-maintenance within the range of local possibilities. The most vital thing in the Bushman's life is the water supply; this is appropriated often by making a depression in the apparently dry bed of a stream and

[1] F. Ratzel, The History of Mankind, Vol. II, p. 268.

sucking up the moisture through reeds; the women do this, and then store what they have been able to get in ostrich-egg shells, which are buried in the sand to cool the water and for the sake of concealment. There is also a certain bitter melon that grows underground and is located by the hollow sound of the surface when tapped; its juice is often the only liquid at hand to quench thirst. Bushmen eat almost every kind of living creature which they can collect, such as insects, lice, worms, lizards, locusts, grasshoppers, frogs, and snakes

BUSHMEN WITH MELONS
Photograph by Arnold Hodson

both poisonous and innocuous. The heads of the poisonous snakes are cut off and the bodies roasted and eaten. Locusts are dried over a fire, ground to a powder, and stored in skin sacks in a dry place. When the people are hungry they make the powdered locusts into a porridge, mixing them with honey and making them into a sort of cake. The larvæ of white ants are placed with a little fat on a flat stone over the fire and are eaten when browned. The greatest delicacy of all, apart from honey, is the foot of the elephant, which is cooked by burying in a heated excavation after the ashes have been removed.

But the bulk of the food supply is acquired by the use of offensive weapons — either directly or through raids upon cattle-raising

neighbors. The chief of these weapons is the bow and arrow: the former a rude five-foot stave strung with sinew, and the latter between two and three feet long, single-feathered, heavy toward the point, and so constructed as to leave its poisoned head in the wound. In hunting or war the small size, keen sight, and noiseless approach of the Bushman make him formidable beyond his slight strength; and his lack of physical power has likewise been balanced by the use of arrow poison, derived chiefly from snakes or corrupted flesh. The ostrich is approached in disguise — the head and shoulders of the hunter covered with the skin and the stuffed head and neck of a former victim, and the legs colored white—and with the motions of feeding etc. proper to the quarry, and is readily shot at close quarters with small poisoned arrows. Other weapons are the spear, only occasionally found, and the knobbed club for throwing or striking. Pitfalls are sometimes used; these are dug with a stick weighted with a perforated stone—a tool employed, of course, in other digging operations. Snares of many kinds are very cleverly made.

A BUSHMAN

Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York

The man usually does the hunting after the larger game. Frequently he eats what he wishes while out, and leaves the rest where it has fallen rather than bring it home to his wife. This means that the women often go hungry and are obliged to content themselves with the small forms of animal life which they can capture, either around the camp or on themselves and other members of the family.

Dwellings. "The Bushman seeks his dwelling in caves and clefts of the rock, in sheltered spots beneath overhanging stones, or lies down in dry water courses, or in the deserted pit of an ant-bear. It is quite a sign of progress when he bends down the boughs of a shrub, and weaves them with other boughs and moss into a shelter from the wind, heaping up a lair of dried leaves and moss under it." [1] Only in the rarest cases does he advance to hut-building, when he finds that there is an abundance of game in the neighborhood and decides to settle down for a prolonged stay. The huts are made by putting three sticks into the ground and covering them with two mats.

NATIVE WOMEN WITH OSTRICH EGGS FOR HOLDING WATER

Photograph by Arnold Hodson

When the Bushmen were asked why they did not make stronger and better huts, they replied that such huts attached them too much to one spot. Additional reasons were the fear that their enemies might burn them all alive in these huts before they could get out, and the fact that there was no way of putting the houses aside during the day to prevent their being seen.

Household gear is almost lacking, for a Bushman has no use for the things which he cannot carry with him. Even domestic animals — whenever he has stolen a herd of them, as he frequently does — appear to him a burden of which he soon wishes to be rid. Sharp-nosed sheep dogs, useful in hunting, are found once in a while in his possession. Pottery is seldom used; ostrich eggs are an excellent substitute.

Fire is obtained by rubbing hard and soft wood together; most of the animal food is thrown into the fire for a short time, and at least (or at most) warmed.

When the people sleep they curl themselves up into as small a

[1] F. Ratzel, The History of Mankind, Vol. II, p. 271.

compass as possible. In the floors of their huts, around the fire, are many little holes in which the members of the family sleep. In cold or rainy weather they do not get up for several days.

Marriage and the family. Naturally the Bushmen live in small groups, for the environment will not support larger ones, even if they are always on the move. On the average it takes from forty to two hundred square miles to support one person. The parties are, for the most part, family groups, but family organization is little

A GROUP OF BUSHMEN AND THEIR WIVES
Courtesy of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University

known. Acceptance of presents constitutes acceptance of a "proposing" suitor, and the marriage is ratified by carousing and by return presents to the adherents of the groom. Parental and fraternal incest are forbidden. Because of poverty the prevailing form of marriage is monogamous; but it is a matter of circumstance rather than of principle, and adultery is not severely treated.

"As the natural consequence of the general mode of life among these people, the position of woman is low. On their journeys they carry their children, besides the greater part of their property; at the halting-place they have to see to fire, food, water—the last often difficult enough to procure—and to the utensils; in short to everything

not immediately connected with the chase. If food runs short, they are the first to be stinted, and get ill-treated as well. A weak, old, or sick woman is often left behind without more ado. A bowl of water, a root or two, a bit of meat, are placed beside her; and the wild beasts soon accomplish her destiny. In the treatment of children by their mothers, the animal that is in man equally emerges. They are suckled for a long time, but also in the very first days of life fed upon chewed roots, meat, and other hard articles of diet. They even learn to chew tobacco at an early age. The child grows up without cleaning, watching, tending, without anything to cover its little head, often quite exposed to all weathers; the boy is early initiated by his father into the mysteries of shooting, tracking game, seeking honey. The only production that gives the impression of costliness and elegance is the sunshade of ostrich feathers which tender Bushmen mothers plait for their children." [1]

A BUSHMAN WOMAN

Courtesy of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University

"The Bushmen will kill their children without remorse on various occasions, if they are found to be misshapen, when the food is scarce, when the father forsakes the mother, if they are obliged to flee from farmers or others, in which case the children will be strangled, smothered, cast into the desert, or buried alive. These latter things are done in order that they may not fall into the hands of the enemy. There are instances of parents throwing their children to a hungry lion who stood roaring before the family cave. If when a mother dies she has any very young children they are buried alive with her." [2]

[1] F. Ratzel, The History of Mankind, Vol. II, p. 275.
[2] G. W. Stow, Races of South Africa, p. 51.

Body decorations. In view of the severity of the climate the Bushman's clothing seems very inadequate. He wears a triangular skin loin cloth and a sort of cloak (*kaross*), which becomes a wrap for the night; the woman's kaross is somewhat more ample, affording shelter to children in arms. Sandals of hide or bast are sometimes seen. However, what the Bushman lacks in clothing he makes up in a coating of dirt all over his body; in fact, the ashes and grease which cover his whole body are like a rind.

A BUSHMAN
Photograph by Arnold Hodson

"Finery is scanty and inexpensive. A few rings of brass or iron, a string of dark beads, some little sticks strung in a row like beads, bits of iron or brass according to taste, decorate neck or hair. Trophies of the chase form a more natural adornment; feathers or hares' tails in the hair; teeth, hoofs, horns, shells, on the neck and arms. They carry their tobacco in short goats' horns, or in the pretty shell of a land-tortoise; while boxes of ointment or mysterious amulets are hung around the neck and waist. A jackal's tail on a stick fulfills the functions of fan and pocket handkerchief." [1]

Art. The Bushmen are very clever in drawing figures of men and animals in colors. "The few remains of such drawings, which have been preserved on sheltered walls of caves, give the idea of higher artistic skill than the innumerable rock-scratchings of the American Indians. These designs are partly painted on rocks with the four colors, white, black, red, and yellow ochre, partly engraved in soft sandstone, partly chiselled in hard stone. Besides human figures, they accurately represent a number of the characteristic animals — ostrich, antelope, quagga,

[1] F. Ratzel, The History of Mankind, Vol. II, p. 270.

baboon, also cattle. The occurrence of horses in these Bushmen drawings shows what an impression that animal, first introduced by Europeans, made on them.

"The Bushman is like the Hottentot in his turn and capacity for music. Wherever he can snap up an old fiddle from a European, or make a rudimentary one for himself out of a gourd and two strings, he extracts a tolerable tone from the instrument, and reproduces any pretty airs that he may have heard at the mission or in his dances. There is a metallic ring in his voice. Besides the gourd-fiddle we find also . . . a drum, which often consists of a pot with a little water in it and a skin stretched over its mouth. The function of this music in the Bushman's life is to accompany the dance. The modulation of the voices are said to be intimately interwoven with the movements of the body. The Bushman dance is a gradual and methodical outbreak of licentiousness, reaching the point of convulsion." [1]

BOY AND GIRL IN NATIVE DRESS
Photograph by Arnold Hodson

Religion. The religious ideas of these people are characteristically primitive, and there is probably no conception of a higher being. They are best shown, perhaps, in the beliefs concerning the dead. The body is taken out through a hole in the wall of the hut, which is then demolished, the family deserting the place immediately.

"The dead man's head is anointed, then he is smoke-dried and laid in the grave in an outstretched position. No rule seems to prevail either as to the quarter towards which the head points or as to the way in which the arms and legs are laid; but an old Bushman told Campbell that the sun would rise later if dead people were not

[1] F. Ratzel, The History of Mankind, Vol. II, p. 274.

buried with their faces that way. Then they place stones like a roof over the corpse so as to prevent the earth from falling in upon it, and pile others in an oval form on top. Objects of value according to the Bushmen notions are often put into the grave; thus near Colesberg, Fritsch found a tin ladle, a cup, and sheep and shears, the last on the breast. The wild Bushman put his weapons with the dead man. . . .

"All Bushmen without exception carry amulets to keep off evil spirits, and bring good fortune in their enterprises. One tribe will not eat goat, though the goat is the commonest domestic animal in their district; others reverence antelopes, others again the caterpillar called *N'gwa*. They try to charm their luck in hunting by means of 'bull-roarers' [whir-sticks]. The custom of cutting off joints of the finger alike as a medicinal process, a sign of mourning, and an expiation, looks like sacrifice. You seldom meet a Bushman whose left-hand fingers have not lost some joints. Traces of a belief in a future life are chiefly to be seen in the monuments erected to great people when dead. Stones are thrown upon chiefs' graves so long as the memory of them lasts." [1]

NATIVE DRAWING WATER
Photograph by Arnold Hodson

There are no gods or great spirits; but there is a copious store of legends having to do with the heavenly bodies and, above all, with animals. These not infrequently show the results of long and keen observation and of superior imagination. The animal heroes are, characteristically, first the lion, then the jackal and the hyena; nearer the Cape the locust is a figure of great prominence. The stories are largely of hunting adventure and are interspersed with long conversations and soliloquies of the beasts; in their endless

[1] F. Ratzel, The History of Mankind, Vol. II, pp. 274, 276.

recountings the Bushmen develop a considerable dramatic quality both in gesture and tone. It is probable that the animals are, in a vague way, the objects of worship; some tribes lay a taboo upon certain animals, though they may be the commonest of the district.

A WILD BUSHMAN

Courtesy of the Philadelphia Commercial Museum

Regulative system. Definite clan or tribal organization does not appear; nor is there any societal organization of any coherence or lasting quality. Assemblages of families sometimes appoint their most respected member *kaptein*, and he holds a position of some influence as a sort of "selectman," but this is as far as political integration goes. Classes in the population, law other than family precedents, punishment other than retaliatory violence,—in short, social forms other than the most primitive and rudimentary,—are consistently absent. Relations with neighbors are those of unmitigated hostility: it has been said that the only employment of the Bushmen is in the nature of offensive operations in the chase and in war. The latter term must be taken in a restricted sense: the Bushman is a professional cattle thief, and periodically raids the herds of his neighbors, chiefly the Hottentots. This leads to stern reprisal, for the Bushman is usually shot at sight like a noxious animal. He is against the world, and the world is against him. The numbers of the Bushmen are rapidly diminishing; the women are sometimes carried off, and there has been some race mixture with Hottentots and Bantu; the genuine wild type of the desert and mountains is preserved only in the isolation of a forbidding and nearly impenetrable environment.

CHAPTER II

HOTTENTOTS

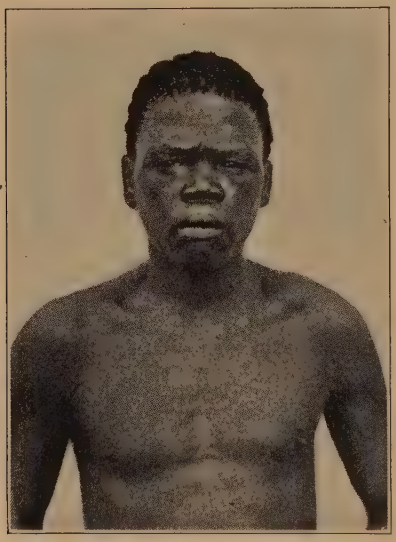
Environment and history. The Hottentots, who were formerly very widespread in South Africa and who now represent only the débris of a great stock, occupy the western part of Cape Colony and the adjoining territory to the north. They have been squeezed almost to death between the encroachments of the Europeans advancing from the coast and those of the Kaffirs from the interior. The result is that the land which they inhabit is either of the prairie or the desert type. The inhabitants of pure breed are to be found chiefly in Great Namaqualand. Apparently they were encroached upon and driven from a more northerly station into southwest Africa, where they were found by the Dutch in the seventeenth century. Of full-blooded Hottentots, called Namas, there are probably less than 20,000. It has been reckoned that the Hottentot-Dutch and Hottentot-Bantu half-breeds, who are scattered all over southwest Africa, number about 180,000. Most of these speak Dutch. The half-breeds with white blood are called Bastaards, and are very proud of this admixture and title. The Bastaards are said to be the most active and enduring wanderers of the desert, the best shots, the cleverest hunters, the greatest scamps, the most arrant drunkards, and the most dangerous criminals.

The name *Hottentot* was given by the early Dutch settlers at the Cape. This word is a Dutch onomatopoetic term to express stammering, and was applied because of the staccato pronunciation and clicks of the native language. The people call themselves "Men of Men" (*Khoi — Khoin*).

The Hottentots and the Bushmen appear to be distantly related, although they are dissimilar in language, character, manner of living, and physical nature.

"According to a Hottentot myth, the first fathers of both lived together — the one a hunter, the other, though blind, yet able to

distinguish animals of the chase from domestic animals. He outwitted the hunter, and forced him to go to the mountains, while he himself built his kraal. On the whole, this myth is probably significant. At the time of the first discovery the Bushmen were already a degenerate tribe of hunters crowded in between settled nations carrying on stock-raising, with whom for centuries they had lived in open enmity. They seem to have been the original inhabitants of South Africa, and were driven into the less fertile mountains by the Hottentots. Both came from the north, but the Hottentots, migrating with their herds, had, through a secure sustenance, greater power, and were enabled gradually to expel the Bushmen from the better hunting-grounds. Thus the expelled race sank into want and misery, and in its efforts to maintain itself became involved in quarrels with all its neighbors.



A HOTTENTOT ABOUT TWENTY YEARS OLD

From Schultze's "Aus Namaland und Kalahari"

"The opinion which was formerly held, that the Bushmen were only degenerate Hottentots forced by poverty to become robbers, must be set aside as erroneous; though it is true that some scattered Hottentots or Kaffirs have united with the Bushmen and have been compelled to lead a similar life." [1]

Physical and mental characteristics. In physique the Hottentots are distantly allied to the Bushmen, showing about the same color and quality of skin, although they are taller by about eight inches. They are thought by some to form an intermediate type between the Bushmen and the Bantu. The cranial capacity is small, the skull is dolichocephalic, and the face is prognathous. The zygomatic arches are very high; and this characteristic, combined with

[1] G. K. C. Gerland, Iconographic Encyclopædia of the Arts and Sciences, Vol. I, pp. 292–293.

TWO VIEWS OF A NATIVE WOMAN

From Schultze's "Aus Namaland und Kalahari"

TWO VIEWS OF A YOUNG GIRL

From Schultze's "Aus Namaland und Kalahari"

narrowness of the skull and a pointed shape of the chin, give to the face the shape of two triangles placed base to base, which contrasts with the rectangular shape of the Bushman face. The eyes are deep-sunk and wide apart; the nose is very broad and flat, with the nostrils opening forward; the mouth is large and thick-lipped. The ears are large and lobeless; the hair is short, woolly, and black, and grows gray with age but seldom falls. There is little or no beard. The characteristic of steatopygy is common, as with the Bushmen.

A HOTTENTOT WOMAN IN PROFILE

Courtesy of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University

The temperament of the Hottentot is leaden, being thus in contrast to the Kaffir's high courage and blind passion and to the Bushmen's savage audacity and mercurial disposition.

Self-maintenance. "Cattle-breeding is the pivot of Hottentot life. At the time of the first contact with Europeans the tendency to pastoral life was, owing to the growth of the herds, and the competition with the Bushmen who lived by the game, strong among many tribes, but was afterwards lessened by quarrels, cattle-lifting, and impoverishment. The first settlers could support only themselves by the aid of the natives' herds; while, for the natives, the herds were their only wealth, by means of which they could obtain luxuries and finery. The man who had nothing sought service with the richer among his people, with the sole object of owning cattle. Cattle was the money and the gold of these races in pre-European times. The tending of the cattle passes to all the inhabitants in turn. For quite young lambs and calves there is a shelter hut of their own. Milking and the sale of milk take place just as with the Negroes, except that

the former is the duty of the women. Both men and women may drink cows' milk, but sheep's milk is allowed to women only. . . .

"Their diet consisted of the produce of their hunting and their cattle, also of vegetables. The women used to procure such roots and tubers as the monkeys and pigs were seen to grub for most eagerly. But like all Africans, meat was what they always sought most passionately; according to Lichtenstein, no South African savage can bear entire deprivation of meat. At a pinch they singe skins

A HOTTENTOT PACK OX AND WAGON
Photograph by Arnold Hodson

and leather, which they will then chew until it is soft. They boil or broil meat, and roast roots in the embers; but everything is devoured half-raw. The national dish is meat boiled in blood."[1] Yet, except on very special occasions, they eat only those cattle which die a natural death.

"The weapons of the Hottentot, at the time of his first intercourse with Europeans, were like those of the Kaffir. The bow took secondary place; like the Bushman bow, it was made of a single stave of strong wood. The arrows had barbed iron heads, hammered thin, on a reed shaft 20 inches long. Their snake poison was no doubt similar

[1] F. Ratzel, The History of Mankind, Vol. II, p. 289.

NATIVE SPEARS
From Schultze's "Aus Namaland und Kalahari"

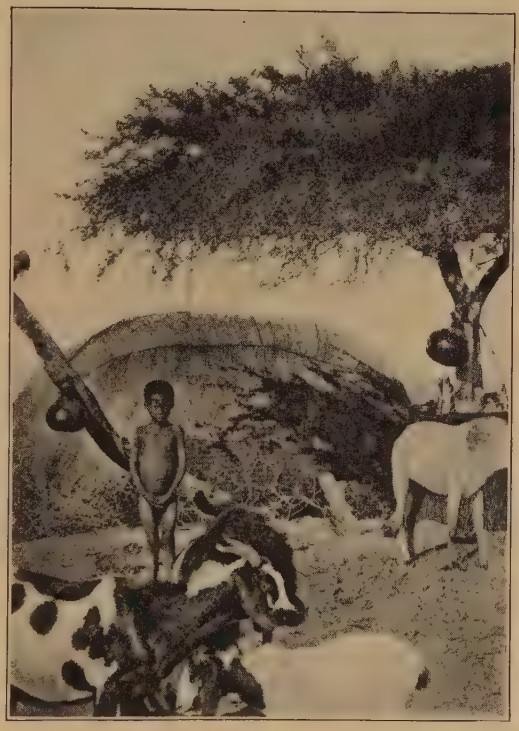
to that of the Bushmen. The quiver was a piece of wood scooped out or hollowed by fire, or was made from the hide of ox, eland, rhinoceros, or elephant. Their chief weapon, the javelin or *assegai* — as it is called even by seventeenth-century travellers, before we have any reports of the Kaffirs — had a plain blade half a foot in length, set on a shaft longer than the height of a man, and sharpened at the butt. According to some, it was poisoned. The last article in their equipment was the stick for striking or throwing." [1]

Houses. "The Hottentots' huts might equally well be called tents; they can be struck and repitched in a few hours. The frame consists of supple staves, stuck into the ground in an oval, then bent together, and fastened to each other at the top. The enclosed space is, in length, about twice a man's height, and in breadth less than a third. The aperture is only half the height of a man, and a full-grown man cannot stand up inside. Close mats are laid over the frame, and hides over them; the whole being weighted with stones as a safeguard against blasts of wind. The mats, the most artistic thing on the premises, are manufactured by the

THE FRAMEWORK OF A HOUSE
From Schultze's "Aus Namaland und Kalahari"

[1] F. Ratzel, The History of Mankind, Vol. II, p. 286.

Namaquas as follows. The inner bark of the mimosa is softened in hot water, and by the united chewing-power of the family, and quickly spun into a thread by rolling on the naked thighs. Then rushes or grass-stalks are perforated at intervals of 2 inches, and the thread drawn through by means of a bone needle, a thorn, or an iron bodkin 2 feet in length. Not only are these mats airy in dry warm weather, but they swell with damp, and become so close that they keep off the heaviest rainfall. A single pack-ox easily carries the semicircular poles of the hut-frame, the mats, and the two or three utensils — calabashes, milking pail, pots — with the mistress of the house and her offspring into the bargain. In the middle, opposite the door, the interior of the hut displays a hole for the fire, — careful housewives always make a hearth of clay, — and round it as many sleeping-holes as there are inmates.



A NATIVE HOUSE UNDER A GIRAFFE TREE
From Schultze's "Aus Namaland und Kalahari"

The household goods are kept on a frame near the door; which can be closed with skins. Its position is easily changed from one side to another, according to the direction of the wind, by shifting the mats, but it is originally towards the east. The construction of these residences is attended to almost entirely by the women. When the modern Hottentot has taken to the rectangular mud-hovel, he often keeps his beehive-shaped hut for sleeping. They build their villages in a circle, house by house,

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A GROUP OF WOMEN IN FRONT OF A NATIVE HUT
Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution

leaving a large wide space in the middle, into which they drive their sheep at night."[1]

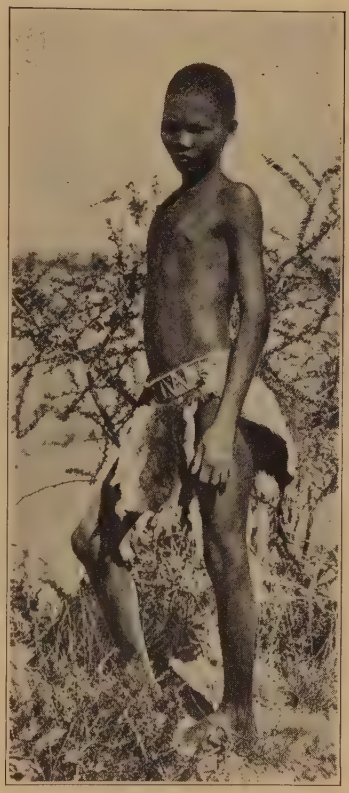
Metals. "They only know the use of copper for ornament and finery; and they must have learnt of themselves to smelt it in large quantities. Their mode of smelting iron is that used throughout Africa. Their bellows consists of a goatskin with wind-hole and earthenware nozzle. Their smith's work, too, is done in the simple way, with stone hammer on a stone anvil. Indeed their production of iron even in the seventeenth century was so limited that the Dutch from the first imported iron for arm and foot-rings. . . .

AN APRON WORN BY A YOUNG GIRL
From Schultze's "Aus Namaland und Kalahari"

Marriage. "Marriage takes place so early that the arrangement of it is the parents' affair. As with all South Africans it is based on undisguised purchase. It is preceded by an application on the part of a relative of the suitor to the father of the girl, and to herself. If the answer be favourable, his people come the next day to the bride's kraal with the oxen ordained for the wedding feast, and there slaughters them and arranges the meal."[2] The number of wives taken is limited only by the ability to feed them. Consanguine marriage is tabooed as far as first cousins. The first-born son is the sole heir and inherits all property.

[1] F. Ratzel, The History of Mankind, Vol. II, p. 288. [2] Ibid. pp. 290, 291.

Clothing and body decorations. "The clothing of both sexes formerly consisted of loin-cloth and *kaross*. The men wore a thong around the waist, from which depended a piece of jackal's, wild cat's, or other small animal's skin. The women wore a triangular cloth, two corners of which tied in front; an apron depended from the knot, and in the case of adults was ornamented with fringes, hair, and beads. Formerly, the loin-cloth consisted of a piece of fur with tinkling rings of copper appended to it. Besides this, the women wore a string, passing several times round about their waists, of perforated bits of ostrich-egg shell, and on this girdle tortoise-shells, large and small, containing *buchu* ointment. Girls received all this ceremonially, on attaining maturity. The *kaross*, worn by both sexes, was made by preference of sheepskin, or the fur of jackals or wild cats; while persons of rank had it made of antelope skin. Ladies of better social position wore a mosaic of three and four-cornered pieces of gay shell on the neck part of it."[1] Trousers and cotton petticoats are now seen. A strange survival occurs in that the women still wear the loin cloth beneath the petticoat.



A HOTTENTOT BOY

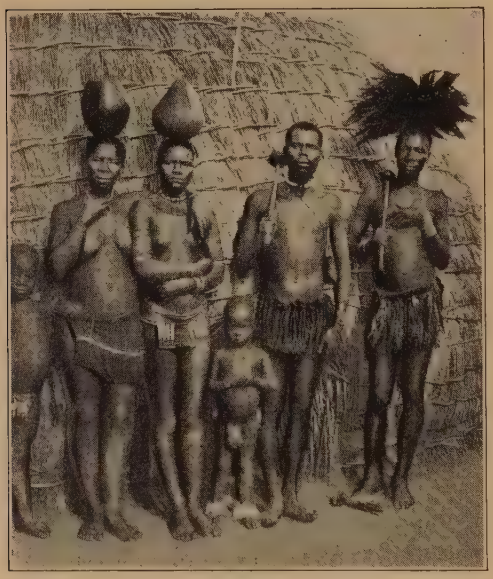
From Schultze's "Aus Namaland und Kalahari"

"Both sexes still carry leather pouches hung around their necks, containing knife, pipe, tobacco, money; also little horns, tortoise-shells, and other things as finery or as charms. Children have little bones on their belts. But the rings of metal on the forearm, of ivory on the upper arm, the polished work of which used to arouse the wonder of the Europeans, have become very rare. Therewith also the custom of

[1] F. Ratzel, The History of Mankind, Vol. II, p. 285.

attaching to them a leather bag for tobacco, provisions, and the like, has fallen into disuse.

"New-born children are at once smeared with mutton-fat. Grown-up people, however, smear their bodies with an ointment of grease, bruised *buchu*-plant, and soot or ochre, drawing lines on it with the fingers. This forms an indispensable part of a Hottentot's make-up. They smear the hair extra-thickly, no doubt as a protection to the head against the heat of the sun. It is still usual, even among Christian Namaqua tribes, for the women to paint their faces with ruddle." [1]



A HOTTENTOT FAMILY GROUP
Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution

Amusement. Dancing is the chief form of amusement. It is usually held at the first quarter of the moon and lasts all night. Every signal event in life and every change of abode is the occasion for a feast and dance.

Religion. The religious system of the Hottentots is not highly developed. One of their chief deities is the moon, whose appearance is the cause of a great celebration. They believe in ghosts, with the result that they have various ceremonies to ward off evil influences. If a man goes out hunting, his wife kindles a fire and watches it carefully, so that it will not go out. Should it be extinguished, however, the man will be unlucky on his expedition. As among many other African tribes, myths and fables abound which deal with animals; in some of them a keen practical strain is shown.

Sickness. In the time of a severe illness the "first thing of all to be done is to call in the witch-doctor, who best knows all the medica-

[1] F. Ratzel, The History of Mankind, Vol. II, pp. 285–286.

ments and their preparation. Above all he performs the 'alterative' process, by killing a sheep and laying its omentum, powdered with *buchu* and twisted into a cord, upon the sick man's head and shoulders; there it must stay until it falls off. The meat of the sheep is eaten by the men or the women, according to the sex of the patient. If the illness is persistent, or danger appears to be present,

AN OLD HOTTENTOT WOMAN AND MAN

The skin in old age becomes very much wrinkled. (From Schultze's "Aus Namaland und Kalahari")

the witch-doctor tries to ascertain the prospects of recovery by skinning a sheep alive; if the animal runs after the process, recovery may be expected, but otherwise, death. . . .

Funerals. "At a funeral, when the lamentation was over, the son first killed a ram, and sprinkled its blood on the corpse, which was then bound in thongs in a squatting attitude, and sewn up in mats and skins. Now an outstretched position with feet towards the east seems to be usual. On one of the long sides of the grave a niche was formed, and this was the actual resting-place of the dead, into which he was shut with slabs of stone, poles, and branches. Then the earth was shovelled back into the grave, and a heap of stones raised over

it to keep off the hyenas. Sometimes the body is laid in a cleft of the rocks or in a cave. A special aperture is made for taking the dead man out of his hut. Besides lamentations, purification took place. Moreover, after all these ceremonies, animals were solemnly slaughtered by the relatives, and their omenta hung round the neck in token of mourning. The whole kraal then broke up its huts; only that of the deceased person being left untouched, for fear that he might come back." [1]

Regulative system. "The older reports about the political institutions of the Hottentots lead to the conclusion that they were

MANY HOTTENTOTS LIVE ON LAND OF THIS CHARACTER
From Schultze's "Aus Namaland und Kalahari"

like those of the other African pastoral peoples. Their history gives sufficient evidence to prove how weak their cohesion was. A hundred years ago they were not extensive nations filling whole provinces with men. Here was a kraal, containing 100, 150, at most 200 souls; two or three days' journey away was another. We find no mention of a prince ruling over several kraals. The political organization of the Namaquas to-day is eminently loose and shifting. The Orlams, immigrant Hottentots from the Cape, form the larger part of the tribes; while the smaller, but internally more adherent, part consists of the pure-blooded Namaquas, who used formerly to consider themselves the 'royal' race. The lack of any higher political organization among the Hottentots is of itself enough to explain

[1] F. Ratzel, The History of Mankind, Vol. II, pp. 290–292.

how the process of race-disintegration could have been so quickly accomplished. The sporadic attempts at resistance can hardly be called opposition to this; they were merely isolated outbreaks of rage in people driven into a corner. We must not be misled by the tales of the old chroniclers of Cape history, who apply in innumerable cases the name of nation not only to small communities but even to single kraals.

"The present political condition of Great Namaqua Land looks like a transition from the tribal organization of the original Nama settlers to the domination of an influential dynasty of immigrant Bastaards. There are still some independent Namaqua tribes, who here and there indulge themselves with a little robbery. For example, the German Empire entered into separate treaties with the Bastaards of Rehoboth, and with Captain Joseph Fredericks of Bethany, who however consented only unwillingly to dispense with the support of the chief of Beersheba." [1]

[1] F. Ratzel, The History of Mankind, Vol. II, pp. 294–295.

CHAPTER III

BANTU

Range of the Bantu peoples. To the north and east of the Bushmen and Hottentots are the Bantu peoples, whose territory includes Central Africa as far as the Sudan. To be more exact, the northern limit is a line drawn from the mouth of the Rio del Rey on the northern boundary of Cameroons on the west coast through the north end of Lake Albert and then down the Tana River to Nyanza on the east coast. The people inhabiting this district belong to one linguistic family, although they differ materially in physical features. Some of the tribes which speak this language belong to the Forest Pygmies; others show relationship with the Hottentots; still others cannot be distinguished from the most exaggerated types of the black West-African negro; and others, especially in the north, are obviously of Nilotic origin.

The theory which accounts for this wide spread of the Bantu tongue states that not more than three thousand years ago a powerful tribe of negroes speaking the Bantu mother-language gradually spread into the south from the very heart of Africa. The small scattered tribes which occupied this country were eventually conquered and absorbed by the victors. The remnants of the original inhabitants are few, and include such people as the Bushmen, the Hottentots, and some Pygmies in the forests of Southwest Nile-Land. If it had not been for the arrival of the whites in South Africa the whole region would have been rapidly Bantuized, at least as far as the imposition of language was concerned.[1]

The name *Bantu* (literally *Ba-ntu*) signifies "men," "mankind," "people." It is now proposed to gain some conception of this group of peoples from the description of several tribes and groups of tribes. There will be taken up in order the Zulus, the Baganda, and some of the peoples living along the Congo River.

[1] H. H. Johnston, in the Encyclopædia Britannica under "Bantu Languages."

ZULUS

History and environment. The negroes of the east coast of Africa were given, by the Arabs who early visited that coast, the name *Kaffir*, which means "unbeliever" or "heretic."

"There are no general or collective national names for these peoples, and the various tribal divisions are mostly designated by historical or legendary chiefs, founders of dynasties or hereditary chieftaincies. The term has no real ethnological value, for the Kaffirs have no national unity. To-day it is used to describe that large family of Bantu negroes inhabiting the greater part of the Cape, the whole Natal and Zululand, and the Portuguese dominions on the east coast south of the Zambezi."[1] One of the principal branches of the Kaffirs is the Zulus, to whom the name has come to be specifically applied.

These people occupy the southeast coast of Africa, where nature is more vigorous and fertile on account of the presence of rainfall, lack of which toward the west is responsible for the desert character of that region. In consequence of the more favorable natural conditions, including a more temperate climate, the southeastern coast and back-country are better adapted to the growth of civilization. The conditions do not support any very high development of agriculture, but are favorable to cattle-raising.

"The traveller from the west, on descending from the highlands of the interior through the mountain fringe of the Drakenberg to the low country on the east coast, at once feels that he is surrounded by a more vigorous and fertile Nature, and by a more independent and active population. The beehive-shaped kraals of the Natal Kaffirs, in the square enclosure, rise in ever-increasing numbers; their herds are feeding everywhere in the pasturages, and the stately forms that approach to sell the firewood with which the traveller has so long had to dispense, or to deal in other goods, complete a picture which forms a sharp contrast to everything that comes to view of native life and ways in the Cape Colony proper. One notices at once that one has here to do with no indolent breed. The neat build of their huts, the orderly way in which the individual groups are fenced in with wattled work, made a favourable impression.

[1] Encyclopædia Britannica under "Kaffirs."

"Even if the inhabitants go almost naked in warm weather, one feels that one is among men who lead their lives on a regular footing, among herdsmen who live by secure property and their own labour, not by chance and the uncertain bounty of Nature. Such is the country of the Zulus, historically the greatest, strongest, most permanent power that the Kaffirs have till now founded." [1]

Physical and mental characteristics. The Zulus are the "greatest, strongest, most permanent" Kaffir power. Physically they are the

A KRAAL IN ZULULAND IN WAR ARRAY
Photograph from James's Press Agency, London

handsomest and most powerful stock. While the Zulu is plainly of the negro type, he is not of the "animal" type found in several other regions of Central Africa. The color is dark brown, the stature is tall, and the body is powerful and well-formed. The Zulu has a fresh and healthy appearance and differs very greatly from the Bushmen-Hottentot stock. Some observers, in enthusiasm over the physical proportion of the Zulus, have proclaimed them "models for sculpture."

The characteristic features of the negro are, however, prominent, in the broad flat nose and everted lips. But the chin is pointed, the face is rather long, and the eyes are large. The expression is in most cases intelligent and alert. The hair is of the negro type: short and

[1] F. Ratzel, The History of Mankind, Vol. II, p. 420.

black, tightly curled, and tufted. The beard, where there is anything deserving that name, is generally thin.

The Zulu temperament is energetic, "all there," and exhibits a strong will, rapid decision, and great courage. However, despite this bravery, the Zulus have never been able to bring to a fortunate end a war with Europeans, however much they have outnumbered them. The courage exhibited is that of the sudden and reckless attack; but, like many native peoples, although they have caused the Europeans in South Africa a great deal of trouble, the Zulus have no staying power.

A ZULU GIRL
Photograph from James's Press Agency, London

Neighboring groups of Bantu, allied to the Zulus, show departures from these characteristics: the Bechuanas are of a softer and more gentle stamp; the Matabele are wild and savage conquerors, and particularly the scourge of the neighboring agriculturists. A perusal of the life of Cecil Rhodes, after whom Rhodesia has been named, throws much light upon the characteristics of these tribes.

Language. The Zulu language is of the regular Bantu type, which here may be illustrated once and for all. It is agglutinative through the extensive use of prefixes. For example, the word for "boy" is *um-fana*, where the plural is *aba-fana*. By way of contrast with a language using suffixes it might be stated that the Latin *vinum bonum* would become, by the prefix method, *um-vin um-bon*. There is a Bantu tribe called the *Ba-suto* (probably the form *Suto* is the name of some ancient chief). The singular of *Ba-suto* — that is, the name of one individual of the tribe — is *Ma-suto*; then the territory occupied by the *Ba-suto* is called *Le-suto*, and the language spoken is *Se-suto*. Further illustration may be given on the basis of the term *bono* (meaning "to see"): *eci-bono* (things seen); *eci-boniso* (vision);

bon-akala (appear). Then *eci-bon-akala* signifies "appearance," and *eci-bon-akalaiso* means "revelation." A sentence is formed as follows: *Abantu* (men) *ba-atle* (all) *ba-molenno* (good) *ba-lefetsi* (the world) *ba-ratoa* (the beloved). This combination means "In the world all good men are beloved."

Self-maintenance. "Though cattle-dealing is the chief business of the Southeastern Kaffirs [Zulus], agriculture is in no way neglected;

A ZULU WOMAN GRINDING CORN

Courtesy of the Philadelphia Commercial Museum

their climate and soil permitting it in a very comprehensive form. . . . The larger agricultural operations are performed by the community. At the season of planting, which is fixed yearly by the chief, the whole field is hoed over; then, with the first rain, follows the sowing of Kaffir 'corn' or maize, to the accompaniment of shouts and singing. Besides this, the two herbs of which the Zulus smoke incredible quantities, tobacco and hemp, are widely cultivated. Hemp is common enough in a wild state; and tobacco has for some years been found in places where villages have stood. Watch-towers are constructed in the fields, of timber and brushwood; the whole family

lives in the lower room during harvest, and a watchman sits above to drive away the grain-eating birds. Harvest takes place in January.

"Thus the Kaffir gets his food about equally from his fields and from his herds. The basis of it is sour milk, *amasi*, and bruised maize, *amabele*, or millet, *umbla*. . . . Meat is eaten alike boiled or roasted, and is much relished by the natives. According to Gardiner's estimate four or five can manage to eat up a whole ox — entrails, sinews, and all, in a day and a half. A well-to-do Kaffir always has, at his

A ZULU HUT, SOUTH AFRICA, IN COURSE OF CONSTRUCTION, SHOWING FRAME WORK
Courtesy of the Philadelphia Commercial Museum

morning and evening meals, over and above his porridge with *amasi*, vegetables, beer, often meat, and in the intervals enjoys plenty of snuff and tobacco."

Villages and houses. Zulu villages as a rule are small, containing from five hundred to a thousand people. The paternal house forms the center of the patriarchal family group. But they have developed barrack towns, the larger ones garrisoned by from six hundred to a thousand men. It is said that the Zulu king could put fifty thousand men (some say one hundred thousand) in the field at short notice.

"In architecture, considerable differences prevail. Since according to his law the land belongs to the tribe, the Kaffir has to get the chief's

[1] F. Ratzel, The History of Mankind, Vol. II, pp. 432–434.

permission to build. Like a true nomad he first puts up the cattle-pen, *isibaya*, by surrounding a circular space with a fence or hedge; or in districts where wood is scarce, with a wall of stones or turf. The huts, one apiece for the husband, for each of his wives, and for each adult member of the family, are erected in a semicircle close round the cattle-pen. The man gets some 200 pointed laths 12 feet long and sticks them in a circle in the ground; the woman binds them together at the top with liana-fibres, fastens reeds or grass over them, and spreads the space within with a mixture of earth and cow-dung." [1]

Weapons. The Zulus are intensely militant and possess characteristic weapons in the spear, shield, and club. These weapons are used also with great effectiveness in the chase. The original weapon was a light throwing javelin; later one of the Zulu kings, Chaka, introduced the *assegai*, by which the Zulus have been characterized. This national weapon has a double-edged steel blade six inches long and about an inch wide, set on a shaft over a yard long. The Zulus also bear an oval oxhide shield which covers a man of middle height to the mouth. Since it hinders rapid movement, it is commonly thrown away in pursuit or in flight. It is, however, a point of honor not to lose the shield. It is really the symbol of the warrior, and it is very honorable to make one. This is often done by the chiefs. The use of spears and shields is constant, for the Zulus are always practicing, in their games and dances, the arts of war and the chase.

Marriage. The strong military organization of the Zulus vitally influences marriage and the family; especially in the past was this the case, when the family was entirely subordinate to the military organization. The kings, to keep up the numbers of their warriors, made them marry late — the chiefs themselves were not supposed to marry. Consequently there were many women for a minority of men no longer fit for service, and so there was a natural development of polygamy and infanticide.

Marriage and the family were organized on the patriarchal type, as is regular with cattle raisers; and the position of woman was relatively low. Marriage was regularly by purchase, and the bride-price had become inveterate in custom.

"When the Colonial Government some years ago, formed the idea of legislating against this custom, called *ukulobola*, they got into more

[1] F. Ratzel, The History of Mankind, Vol. II, p. 430.

difficulties than with any other reform. The custom is most deeply rooted in the hearts of the women, whose sense of their own value increases according to the number of cattle for which they are bought. Equally little would a man be disposed as a rule to take a wife for nothing; he would feel himself lowered thereby. The bond of wedlock acquires its first mutual recognition by means of the purchase." [1]

Incest is carefully avoided, the union of brother and sister, uncle and niece, aunt and nephew, being strictly tabooed. There is a good

A ZULU CHIEF AND HIS WIVES

Courtesy of the Philadelphia Commercial Museum

deal of unchastity before marriage; but marriage having been once entered upon, adultery is severely punished as an offense against property rights.

"The wedding ceremony, which takes a similar course among all South Kaffirs, consists among the Zulus of the ceremonial transference of the bride to the bridegroom's hut, escorted by the relations and friends in great numbers. They bring two oxen, one to be slaughtered in order to move the higher powers to bestow prosperity on the new household, the other to form the nucleus of a new herd in

[1] F. Ratzel, The History of Mankind, Vol. II, pp. 434–435.

the bridegroom's pen, denuded by the purchase of his bride. Formerly a grindstone, a broom, and a bowl were handed to the bride; a sheaf of assegais and an axe to the bridegroom, to indicate their future callings. Among the Kosas the bride pulls a feather from the bridegroom's headdress and sticks it in her own wool. Then she seizes a spear, goes solemnly to the cattle kraal, and throws it over the fence, so that it remains sticking in the ground. The wedding feast is prepared with one ox of the bridegroom's, which is slaughtered by the senior man of his village, and another which he presents to his mother-in-law. This is followed, among other tribes, by the washing with beads. First the bride, from a calabash containing water and beads, sprinkles the hands of the bridegroom and of her friends, then he does the same by her and his friends; then the beads are poured out, and everyone snatches at them." [1] Lastly, the village seniors even soar to the point of recommending to the young couple diligence and good conduct; nor are fine words absent from their discourse.

Defective children are put to death, and there is a good deal of general infanticide; but if the young are allowed to live, their relations to their parents are commonly close. The Zulus practice the common majority-ceremony, by which the young are inducted into full membership in the group. This includes circumcision (which has declined in recent time), change of name, immersion in a stream, etc. On this occasion instruction is given to both boys and girls.

Religious ideas. Religion is of about the same type throughout Central and South Africa. It is a typical animism and cultus of the dead. In dealing with the latter and with the spirits, there are sacrifices at the grave, including human sacrifices with attendant cannibalism. The effort is made to keep in free touch with the deceased. There is also a high development of fetishism and witchcraft. Witch doctors, who are also rain makers in the arid sections, have their usual importance among primitive peoples. Life from cradle to grave is "entangled and confined by the most complicated, clumsy, and time-wasting usages." [2] Much is made of amulets and other religious devices.

In dealing with the spirits the Zulus show the usual primitive demonism. Though they endeavor to keep on good terms with the dead, they have a number of methods of avoidance and exorcism.

[1] F. Ratzel, The History of Mankind, Vol. II, pp. 435–436. [2] Ibid. p. 369.

They recognize the spirit of heaven, and among them the functions of creation and of great supernatural power are assigned to the "old old one" (*Unkulunkulu*). It is *Unkulunkulu*, not *Itango* the supreme spirit, who created man. On the occasion of an earthquake threatening gestures are made to the sky, and there are ceremonies in connection with the moon. There is a considerable amount of worship of trees and animals which verges over into *totemism*; and there is an extensive mythology along all these lines, as is common among primitive peoples and among Africans in particular.

It is impossible to go into the details of religious observances, but it is possible to say that those of the Zulus exemplify the principles laid down by Tylor and Spencer.[1]

"Were it not," says one observer, "for the superstition in native character and customs, and the misery flowing from it, the Bantu-Kaffirs would be happy barbarians, especially Zulus, whose good nature, humor, sociability, hospitality, mildness, and honesty are striking characteristics." It might be queried whether the Zulus or any other savage peoples are any more "unhappy" because they are immersed in their own set of mores than are civilized observers, for whom life amidst these mores seems unattractive.

Regulative organization. The Zulu government is a limited despotism. The king has beside him two *indunas*, one a sort of minister and the other a commander in chief. The government appears, therefore, to be a species of triumvirate. The king has no power, without the approval of the *indunas*, to declare war, to pronounce capital sentence, or to divide land.

"Yet a whole list of privileges belong to the king, showing that he holds, in regard to the mass of the people, the position of a patriarchal tribal chieftain. His is the right of ownership over all the land and all the property of the people; there is no personal property in land, only certain rights affecting the situation of the villages and pastures. Yet the king has the *usufruct* of a number of villages, just as the higher *indunas* usually own one or more. Similarly, the king has a power of disposal, though often limited, over the lives and the time of his people. Confiscated goods form a main source of a Kaffir chief's revenue, in addition to more or less voluntary

[1] E. B. Tylor, Anthropology, chaps. xiv and xv; H. Spencer, Principles of Sociology, Vol. I, Part I.

presents. These are especially plentiful at a declaration of manhood. No subject may receive a present without the king's permission. Yet he is in truth no lazy oriental despot, but has a long list of duties, by no means trivial, to perform. As supreme war lord he has to feed, equip, and when necessary pay his soldiers, to encourage and to punish them. He superintends his herds, which are in so far state property that the army is victualled on the meat of them, and its shields are cut from their skins." [1]

A ZULU QUEEN AND HER LADIES IN WAITING
Courtesy of the Philadelphia Commercial Museum

The basic characteristic of the Zulu state is its militancy. The army which they possess is one of the most complete and efficient and permanent organizations of any negro state. The youths are trained from their earliest years in military matters; in fact, the kraals are really great camps, where the men and boys are divided into certain military categories. At one time the Zulus could have put into the field between fifty thousand and one hundred thousand men, half of whom were kept, even during times of peace, on a war footing.

War is not a series of mock battles, as is the case with so many of

[1] F. Ratzel, The History of Mankind, Vol. II, p. 437.

the savage peoples, but a very bloody affair, where frequently an entire army will be wiped out. Even the Europeans have had much difficulty with this daring people, although in the end the more civilized race has always prevailed.

Zulu jurisprudence is cruel, but relatively advanced. There are a good many points of agreement between the Zulu system and that of the civilized peoples, and it is here that the civilized influence can, in consequence, get a hold. However, this influence is less far-reaching than is sometimes thought. In 1872 Cetewayo was persuaded not

ZULU TRIBAL ENCOUNTER

Courtesy of the Philadelphia Commercial Museum

to execute without a trial, but the provision never went into effect, for it struck at the very root of the monarchy. The Zulus spent much time and trouble in arriving at what they considered justice. The judges were the under-chiefs and the king, the finding of the latter being final. Under King Chaka all theft was punished by death; also sneezing and clearing the throat in the king's presence, and the exhibition of dry eyes at the death of a member of the royal house. For lighter offenses there were fines in cattle. Theft came to be atoned for by a restitution of from two to ten times the amount stolen; and murder was paid for in cattle (five or six head), if the relatives agreed. But a great variety of capital punishments

persist, including hanging, twisting the neck, throttling, and impaling. The bodies of those executed are left to the wild beasts.

"Their judicial procedure recognizes an oath by deceased parents or chiefs, or by the living king, and treats precedents with respect. The proceedings run into oratorical breadth. A man who purposes to bring a complaint against another assembles his friends or neighbours, who go with him, armed, to the hut or village of the defendant, sit down there in a conspicuous place, and await the effect of their presence. Presently the grown men of the neighbourhood or village collect over against them, and wait in similar silence. One from among them now calls to the, as a rule, unwelcome visitors, 'tell us the news.' The spokesman gives a precise exposition of the complaint; his own companions interrupt him with a host of additions and emendations, and the opposite party with endless cross-questioning. At first, however, the proceedings do not get beyond this. By next day the accused parties have brought up men who are known as practised debaters. These begin to represent their view of the case, and the complainants have to bring theirs forward afresh. Now the effort is made to relate each individual point with the utmost obstinacy and subtlety. When a speaker is tired another steps in, and goes again over the well-laboured field with the plough of fresh arguments. But if all pleas and counter-pleas on both sides are exhausted, the complainants withdraw, and both parties consider the advantages and disadvantages of their position. If one feels that it cannot maintain its case, it starts with the offer of the smallest possible compensation. If no decision is arrived at, a summons from the complainants to the *umpakati* of the neighbouring district follows. In his presence the whole dispute is now once more gone through at length." [1] Frequently this goes on for a week or more, until finally the case has been reviewed by everyone of importance. The chief at last gives a decision, which has to be lived up to.

Trespasses against the king are punished with savage severity. Frequently for such a trespass a man's whole house and goods are "eaten up."

[1] F. Ratzel, The History of Mankind, Vol. II, pp. 444–445.

CHAPTER IV

BANTU (CONTINUED)

BAGANDA

Environment. The Baganda occupy a portion of the so-called Uganda Protectorate around Lake Victoria Nyanza. The name of the country is *Buganda* in the language of the country, but *Uganda* in the Swahili language of the coast; the first explorers, coming from the coast and employing Swahili servants, learned the name *Uganda* before they reached the country itself, and this name has remained customary in English. This region is one of the most productive in Africa, possessing a tropical climate for the most part and showing the usual luxuriance of vegetation and of animal life characteristic of that climate. The topography is varied, exhibiting lofty plateaus, snow-capped mountains, vast swamps, dense forests, and regions of desolate aridity.

Physical characters and history. The Baganda show no distinct physical type, but represent the "West African type." They are big men: tall, loose-limbed, muscular, and clumsy, having but little of the grace and suppleness of the Zulus. The type is characteristically negroid, although the men show a development of the beard beyond the ordinary. The expression is mild and agreeable, and the disposition is polite and artistic. Johnston calls this people the "Japanese of Central Africa."

This region has shown a tremendous decrease in population, from four million to one million (1901). There was an appalling bloodshed between 1860 and 1898 during the wars and raids with the Unyoro and in the civil wars.

"But another cause seems to have been the exhaustion of men and women by premature debauchery. From some cause or another the women of Uganda have become very poor breeders. If a woman has more than one child she is looked upon as quite remarkable, and is given a special honorific title. If ever a race needed a puritan revival

to save it from extinction, it is the Baganda." [1] Sex disease has ravaged the population; its nature is not understood, for mothers think it is caused by eating salt during pregnancy, and women are beaten if their children die of it.

The Baganda are subject to various diseases, among them malarial fever, to which, however, they seem susceptible only if they leave their own country. This same peculiar condition applies in the case of dysentery. Smallpox has made its ravages, and chickenpox and mumps make a great deal of trouble. A peculiar ethnic disease is *yaws*, which commences with ulcers on the feet and spreads over the body. Some leprosy is found, but bubonic plague is more feared. Phthisis is extremely rare, but skin disease and parasites of all kinds are common. Dyspepsia, from eating beyond the powers of their strong digestions, is not uncommon. The worst disease, next to syphilis, is the sleeping sickness, which is brought on by the bite of the tsetse fly and is said to be invariably fatal.

There is an enormous infant death rate; but the population, we are told, are making the endeavor to be sanitary — except as to their persons. They attempt to keep their houses clean and the surroundings of the houses very clean.

Self-maintenance. The chief industries of the Baganda are agriculture and cattle-raising. They have, as domesticated animals, kine, goats, sheep, fowls, and dogs, although they have never, of themselves, made any progress to speak of in domestication. They use milk for food, having been taught by Europeans, but not because of any original fondness for the liquid. Cattle-keeping has never taken the hold on these people that it has on the tribes of a less distinctly negro character to the east and to the west.

Although they raise the sweet potato, maize, and tobacco, yet their greatest product is the banana, or plantain. Of these they have large groves, which they tend very carefully, cutting out all the underbrush. There are thirty-one different kinds of plantain cultivated in Uganda. The banana, or plantain, of this region is not sweet.

"As regards the food of these people, they are fond of meat when they can get it, either by killing goats, sheep, cattle, or wild animals. Meat is sometimes cooked in water with red pepper and the spicy grains of the amomum, or it is grilled over the fire on a rough gridiron.

[1] H. H. Johnston, Uganda Protectorate, Vol. II, p. 642.

The common practice is to run lumps of flesh onto wooden spits and stick them up in a slanting position over the fire." [1]

Fish enters largely into the dietary. Locusts are eaten roasted, after the scorched wings have been rubbed off, and white ants are considered a delicacy. But the staple food is the banana. Bananas are prepared by boiling a quantity of them together in a solid mass. This being placed in the center of the family circle, each one helps himself to a small amount, which he rolls into a ball and dips into gravy. It is considered almost a sin to drop any of this gravy when the balls are transferred to the mouth. Children are severely reprimanded for such an impropriety.

The chief drink is a sweet beer made from the juice of the banana. It is very heady, and the Baganda frequently become tipsy from its use but not stupefied or frantic. They also chew the pulp around the coffee berry, but brew no beverage from this plant. They raise excellent tobacco with little care, and both sexes smoke it in clay pipes. The smoking of hemp so maddens them that the practice has been prohibited by native law.

The status of their agriculture is not remarkable. In common with other Central Africans they lack the plow. Though their tobacco grows rankly on the dunghills they have no idea of manuring, but burn the undergrowth and dig the ashes into the soil, thus emulating the wastefulness of the ancient "brand-tillage."

The Baganda native weapons are the spear and the shield, the latter a pointed oval. They do not use the bow and arrow or the sword. In hunting they were formerly very adroit and were also skillful in lake-fishing, chiefly with weirs.

Houses; villages. The typical house in Uganda is a perfect circle with two doorways, one opposite the other. Outside, the conical roof is prolonged, so that it forms a sort of covered porch. The roof is a heavy thatch, sometimes a foot in thickness, made of fine long grass which, over the front of the house and over the porch, is shaved off with sharp knives to a smooth edge.

"This gives the house a very neat aspect, and is a great improvement on the untidy, sweeping straws which usually terminate an African's thatch. The interior of the house and the outer walls of the porch and the front veranda are most neatly covered with cane-work.

[1] H. H. Johnston, Uganda Protectorate, Vol. II, p. 671.

This is made of long stalks of the elephant grass packed closely together in an upright position, and bound by transverse bands of bast. This cane-work is almost a specialty of the Baganda, and with it they clothe unsightly poles, which then become glistening columns of pale gold. . . .

"A large house may contain, besides the central fireplace (generally a raised dais of hard clay on which stand the three big round stones which compose the African's grate), from one to five sleeping-berths, usually beds of raised clay partially surrounded by screens. Curiously

A BAGANDA VILLAGE
Courtesy of the Philadelphia Commercial Museum

enough, in many of the houses, even of the better class, there is a partition on the left of the interior from the principal entrance which serves as an enclosure for cattle, one or more milch cows being kept there with their calves. Some of these cows are extremely tame, and walk in and out of the houses with great care and deftness, never upsetting or injuring the frail screens through which they have to pass. It may be supposed that these tame cows introduce a certain amount of dirt and smell into the house; but as regards cleanly habits they seem to be as well trained as a domestic dog or cat.

"At the back of the principal dwelling-house there are smaller and less neatly built huts which serve as cooking places, and sometimes as separate dwellings for supernumerary women or children, and

attached to every establishment is a privy. In the courtyard which contains the principal dwelling, there may still be seen a small fetish hut near the house and close to the gateway leading into the courtyard. Every Uganda house of importance has attached to it a series of neatly kept courtyards surrounded by tall fences of plaited reeds. In visiting a chief one may pass through four or five of these empty courtyards, in which followers of the chief stand or squat under

A BAGANDA FAMILY GROUP

Courtesy of the Field Museum of Natural History

shady trees. Any really big chief or the king of Uganda would have in one of these courtyards a band of music, a number of men with drums, fifes, and horn trumpets, who would greet the arrival of distinguished strangers by striking up some melody. . . .

"The Uganda town is a series of villa residences surrounded by luxuriant gardens. Occasionally there is an open square formed by the meeting of two broad roadways, and this may be the site of a market or a place of reunion for the people. Narrow paths may circulate between the huts of peasants or as byways, but as a rule the

Muganda[1] prefers to make roads as those in vogue in civilized countries at the present day. The public ways are kept fairly free from the growth of vegetation, but no attempt is made, of course, to metal their surface, and consequently the heavy rains cut deeply into their clay soil, so that the roads in their present condition are quite unsuited to wheeled traffic."[2]

Roads. "The Uganda road is like the old Roman road. It aims, or attempts to aim, straight at its destination, perfectly regardless of ups and downs. The natives never dream of negotiating a hill by taking the road round it by a gentle gradient. On the contrary, it always seems to the wearied traveller that the person who laid out the road looked round the horizon for the highest point and made straight for it by the steepest ascent. As a matter of fact, the roads are carried with tolerable correctness from point to point along the shortest route. It is when the Baganda come to one of their many thousand marshes that they show both perseverance and skill. . . .

"Across these marshes the Baganda build causeways, which, though perhaps not sufficiently strong for heavy wheeled traffic, are generally quite solid enough for foot passengers and people on horseback. The causeway is usually made by driving poles into the marsh and building along these two rows of piles a coarse basketwork of withes and canes. Between these walls of basketwork are thrown down a quantity of papyrus stalks and branches of trees. Poles are fastened at short intervals above this groundwork of indiscriminate vegetation, and keep the opposite walls of basketwork from falling in. An immense quantity of mud and sand is then thrown down along the causeway, and gradually built up to a high, hard road some six feet above the surface of the marsh. At intervals tunnels are made in the basketwork as rough drains through which the slowly percolating water of these choked rivers may find its way. The weakness of this plan seems to lie in the perishable nature of the foundations. The immense quantity of papyrus leaves and branches which are thrown down at the bottom of the causeway rot by degrees and shrink in volume. This causes holes to form in between the poles. At the same time, one has only to travel in countries like Uganda outside the limits

[1] A group living in the east of Uganda.

[2] H. H. Johnston, Uganda Protectorate, Vol. II, pp. 652–657.

of Uganda civilization to realize what a boon these dry roads are across the interminable marshes. . . .

Boats. "The Uganda canoe, like the Uganda house and road, is a thing peculiar to Uganda. . . . The foundations of the boat consist of a keel made from the long, slender stem of a tree, which may be as much as fifty feet long. The keel is straightened and slightly warped, so that it presents a convex aspect to the water. This long tree-trunk is a semicircular hollow, the interior having been burnt out with fire, aided by the chipping of axes, and it is of sufficient girth to form by its breadth the bottom of the canoe." [1] Planks are fixed to the side to form the gunwale. The boats are propelled entirely by paddles, although the people know the use of sails.

Marriage. "With regard to marriage, the peasantry, or 'Bakopi,' follow this procedure: A man has generally ascertained that his advances will be favorably received before he makes any definite move. If he meets the girl, he asks permission to speak to her elder brother or uncle, and if she consents the peasant buys two gourds full of native beer, and repairs to her father's house. The brother or male relative meets him at the entrance to the enclosure that surrounds the house, takes the beer, and conducts the suitor to the girl's father. As soon as the beer is disposed of, the father mentions certain articles that he should like as a present, possibly ten thousand kauri shells, a goat, a bundle of salt, and a few strips of bark-cloth. The suitor then retires and does the best he can to obtain the quantity of each article mentioned. If he is a rich man, he will not take long, but in any case he must not return for the bride before three days. This is the period universally allowed for making her ready — that is, shaving her hair and anointing her all over with oil. After a lapse of an interval ranging from three days to a month and a half, the suitor returns with the shells and other things, probably costing, all told, some 18 s. to 20 s. These things are given to the father of the girl. At the same time, the suitor must not have forgotten to bring a small calabash of beer for the bride's sister. When these things are handed over, a party is formed at the father's house and all proceed to the bridegroom's house, beating drums and singing. The afternoon, evening, and night are spent in dancing and drinking

[1] H. H. Johnston, Uganda Protectorate, Vol. II, pp. 657–659.

beer. In the morning the party separates, and the ceremony is finished, the bride remaining with her husband." [1]

Marriage between first cousins is tabooed, and the curious practice of avoidance of the mother-in-law exists. She must not go into her daughter's house or speak to her son-in-law, and if there is an accidental meeting with him both parties must turn aside. When visiting her daughter the mother-in-law stays twenty yards away from the hut, and the daughter comes out.

BAGANDA WOMEN
Courtesy of the Field Museum of Natural History

"If the son-in-law is indoors, and in view from outside, the mother-in-law may shout . . . 'How dost thou?' And the son-in-law may answer her from inside the hut, but it would be a gross breach of etiquette either to carry the conversation further, or for the mother-in-law to look in at the door, or her son-in-law to glance at her from within the hut." [2]

Adultery was once punished by "chopping up alive together"; now by fines. The man may be whipped, but a woman never; and the wife is not discarded. At the time of a birth the wife is not delivered in her husband's house, but in a shed or in a house borrowed from a friend. Her mother and other women attend her; but it is a breach of etiquette for her husband to visit her during the four days' absence. The paternal grandfather names the child, whose standing depends little, if anything, on the rank of the mother. The Baganda women may not eat fowls or mutton or eggs after they are married. Inheritance is

[1] H. H. Johnston, Uganda Protectorate, Vol. II, pp. 687–688. [2] Ibid.

by election rather than by prescribed right, but the widows of the deceased do not become the wives of the heir.

The Baganda are divided into twenty-nine clans, and marriage inside the clan is common. The clan has a sort of totem called *muziro*, signifying "something I avoid for medical or other reasons."

Self-gratification. The Baganda practice no body mutilations such as circumcision, scarring, tattooing, ear-piercing, or knocking out of teeth, but they wear iron, copper, lead, or ivory bracelets, or necklaces of these materials. They do not take much trouble with the hair.

A BAGANDA BOY WEARING AN INITIATION MASK

Courtesy of the Field Museum of Natural History

"This is very abundant in growth, but they generally cut it short. There are certain occasions, however, on which the hair is allowed to grow. A widow is expected to leave her hair at least two months uncut after the death of her husband. She may even let the growth of the hair extend uninterruptedly for five or six months, if she wishes to show that her sorrow is intense. It is sometimes noticed that there is a circular bare patch on a man's head where the hair has been shaved, almost like a tonsure. The explanation of this is that the tonsured individual is subject to fever or has frequent headaches. He therefore keeps a portion of his head shaved, so that it may be readily scarified and cupped." [1]

There is a strong feeling for what they call decency; the exposure of the legs in the king's presence calls down a fine. However, the valets to King Mutesa were young women who were entirely unclad. The clothing of all was formerly made of bark cloth, and it is still etiquette to wear it at court. The Muganda winds a strip of it

[1] H. H. Johnston, Uganda Protectorate, Vol. II, p. 647.

around his hips and between his legs, even though he wears trousers over it. There is a growing partiality for white cloth garments, which are constantly washed. These extend from the neck to the ankles.

The Baganda are very fond of the simple primitive music which they know how to make. One of their instruments is a flute made from hollow reeds or sections of bamboo. The drum is a hollow tree trunk covered with lizard skin.

COLUBUS MONKEY SKINS USED FOR DRESS
Courtesy of the Field Museum of Natural History

"The harp of the Baganda is interesting because its identical form is repeated in the paintings of ancient Egypt, where the instrument must have had its origin, reaching Uganda by way of the Nile, or by the roundabout route which ancient trade followed from Egypt to Somaliland and from Somaliland to Uganda. This type of Egyptian harp may also be noticed in the possession of the Sudan tribes along the Congo watershed and in the vicinity of the Niger, and I am not sure but what it does not turn up again in West Africa."[1]

Still another instrument closely resembles the xylophone; it is made from hollow pieces of wood of different lengths fastened crosswise to two banana stalks.

Religion. Theoretically the Baganda are all Christians, but the old forms of demonism and ancestor worship persist. There are numerous spirits associated with lightning, rain, and other phenomena. Among the pre-Christian priests, as elsewhere in the world, the cross was a mystic symbol.

[1] H. H. Johnston, Uganda Protectorate, Vol. II, p. 665.

The dead are washed with the pulp of banana stems and placed on a frame in the hut. They are buried before the hut door, and a small structure is reared beside the grave for the purpose of mourning, which ends after one month. Formerly living persons were buried with the dead to be followers to the spirit world, but this practice has fallen into disuse.

The Baganda distinguish two varieties of doctors: first, those who have a practical knowledge of healing herbs etc.; second, the regular *sha*, who practice autohypnosis and mesmerism. In former times the doctors were confused with and undifferentiated from the priests. Among the primitive therapeutic devices are cupping (which is frequently nothing but the sucking of the spot where pain is located), massage, and the sweat bath.

The Baganda have an extensive mythology, and many stories about animals and spirits, of the typically African type; but Christianity is said to have been established pretty strongly, and the religious system to be changing and progressive.

Regulative organization. The government is the regular central African despotism, and has been very bloody. There is great respect for law and order; in fact, the people are somewhat slavish. It is said that this régime engenders politeness, and that the Baganda are the politest race in Africa. If it is true that the freest nation is the rudest, then, perhaps, the politeness of the Baganda is an indication of their oppression at the hands of their rulers.

CHAPTER V

BANTU (CONTINUED)

CONGO PEOPLES

It is to be understood that the rest of the Bantu are not on so high a plane as the Zulus and the Baganda. In the center and west of Africa they are much less developed in culture. There is no great difference in physique, but the distinctions exist in the grade of civilization attained. We shall now briefly survey the main features of the central and west African societies.

These peoples occupy the valley of the Congo, and while the different tribes possess many distinctive local customs, yet the general type of civilization is the same throughout. The population of this region is variously estimated at from 14,000,000 to 30,000,000.

Environment. The Congo is the largest river of Africa and is exceeded in size, among the rivers of the world, by the Amazon alone. It has a length of 3000 miles, a width, in places, of 8 miles, and a drainage area of 1,425,000 square miles, a territory including the equatorial basin of central Africa and much of the surrounding plateaus. Situated as it is in the tropics, the valley of the Congo is made up chiefly of dense junglelike primeval forests, but there is some prairie, or grassland. The climate is equatorial, the rainfall copious, and the vegetation luxuriant to the point of impenetrability. Swamps, almost impassable, cover large areas along the river and through the interior of the country.

Physique. The physique of the Congo peoples is of the negro type,[1] varying somewhat, but on the whole not so good as that of the Zulus and the Baganda.

Character and ability. "The native can love and he can hate; but he is neither a good lover nor a strong hater. His affections are neither steady nor permanent. He will, however, remember a wrong committed against him much longer than a good deed done to help

[1] See page 71 below.

him. He is moved more by fear of pain, by loss of material profit, and by public opinion than swayed by principles and arguments. He will float with the stream rather than continually struggle against it; but at the same time he can obstinately and doggedly follow a course that will result in physical pain, financial loss, and ridicule if he is once persuaded that his ultimate interests lie in that direction.

"He is not lacking in gratitude, but he is afraid of displaying it lest a favour be asked of him in return. When you visit him he will

CONGO WARRIORS IN A DUGOUT WAR CANOE
Photograph from James's Press Agency, London

remind you of the fact that you mended his broken leg or cured his disease, not to make it the basis of a generous act toward you, but rather as a plea to procure something extra out of you by awakening your further interest in him.

"In some districts you will find he is more a liar than a thief, and if you investigate you will discover that the fines imposed for thieving are such as to deter him from following his inclination to steal. In other districts, where the native laws are more lax, he will excel both in thieving and lying, but he will readily admit they are vices worthy of stringent punishment, and will express his regret that the thief stole either from you or from himself, and at the same time he will be doing his best to rob you. . . .

"He is prouder than Lucifer is reputed to be, and will resent the smallest slight put upon his so-called dignity. In a fit of overweening vanity he will sacrifice everything he possesses, and destroy all his future prospects to satisfy the pride of the moment. His family may be insignificant, his town paltry, himself small and dirty, but touch his pride and he will act as though he were *un grand seigneur*. He himself must be the judge of what hurts his pride, not you. He has his own code of honour and etiquette, difficult at times for you to understand, hence you wonder at some of the exhibitions of his pride.

CONGO BOYS

Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York

"His memory is well trained, and his powers of observation keen and minute; his ability to adapt himself to his surroundings is wonderful and his imitative faculties are remarkable; but he lacks power of mental concentration and logical thought. His physical powers are highly developed—he will carry a load, from 70 lbs. to 80 lbs., up and down hill and across broken country, or paddle a heavy canoe hour after hour, without exhibiting much fatigue; but he cannot, or will not, follow a line of thought, metaphorically speaking, for twenty yards. His reasoning and reflective faculties are stunted, undeveloped, for they have been exercised upon nothing more profound than the very alphabet of existence. He knows that two and two make four — that certain results follow certain causes, but that a series of causes will produce a series of results complicated and wide-spreading in their effect he cannot grasp. He has no power of deduction, and little or no faculty for producing a well-developed plot or involved plan. . . .

"He has a wonderful power of imitation, but he lacks invention and initiative; but this lack is undoubtedly due to suppression of

the inventive faculty. For generations it has been the custom to charge with witchcraft anyone who has commenced a new industry or discovered a new article of barter. The making of anything out of the ordinary has brought on the maker a charge of witchcraft that again and again has resulted in death by the ordeal. To know more than others, to be more skilful than others, more energetic, more acute in business, more smart in dress, has often caused a charge of

CONGO WARRIORS, WITH LONG SHIELDS AND SPEARS
Courtesy of the Philadelphia Commercial Museum

witchcraft and death. Therefore, the native to save his life and live in peace has smothered his inventive faculty, and all spirit of enterprise has been driven out of him." [1]

Self-maintenance. These people may be classified roughly into three groups: plain, forest, and riverine tribes. With the exception of a very few along the river all are agriculturists. The chief crops are the banana, plantain, sweet potato, and cassava root, which latter, when soaked, pounded, rolled in banana leaves and boiled, forms the staple food of most of the Congo tribes. They also cultivate

[1] J. H. Weeks, Among the Congo Cannibals, pp. 175–178.

maize, sesame, and tobacco, but these are by no means so widespread or important as the first-mentioned products.

Agriculture is carried on largely by the women. Little girls are taken out at an early age to the farms, which are situated on the outskirts of the villages, and there taught how to plant, hoe, and gather the crops. They are instructed in the best sort of soil to use, and when it is unprofitable to plant an old farm and better to start a new one.

The domesticated animals are goats, sheep, and poultry, the latter being fairly common among all these peoples, who, however, do not depend entirely upon their own animals for meat. On the Lower Congo the antelope, bush-pig, palm-rat, and gazelle, and on the upper branches of the river the hippopotamus, elephant, and lion are hunted. A favorite method of hunting on the plains is to set the grass on fire, once a year, and as the animals rush by in terror, to kill them. The result of this wholesale slaughter is that the amount of game has greatly decreased. Where the larger game is hunted, the medicine man is called in before an expedition takes place to perform certain rites so that the hunt may be successful. It is thought that spirits of the dead who inhabit the forests have the power to turn the animals aside from the traps, and the medicine man is expected to prevent this catastrophe. The natives are not very good trackers, but depend more upon the animals' running into the trap or noose than upon hunting them down.

"For hippopotami, elephants, and antelopes spring traps are placed across their tracks. These traps are made by putting two stout uprights about four feet apart, one on either side of the track; then a stout cross-piece is tied at about twelve feet from the ground. To the middle of this cross-piece and right over the track is fixed a heavy log of wood; and into the downward end of the log is placed a strong, sharp, heavy spear or prong. The log is so arranged that when the string which stretches across the path is touched by the passing animal, down comes the log, and four times out of six the spear enters the body of the beast. I once saw the body of a man who, while runing in the forest, had inadvertently touched the spring of one of these traps. The spear caught him in the back of the neck, passed through his body, and came out between his legs. Such traps were called *mbongna*. Occasionally pit traps are made, but it is seldom that any-

thing is found in them." [1] These pit traps have at the bottom sharpened sticks and iron prongs. Over the hole, branches and leaves are placed, and the rapid growth of the jungle soon makes the trap invisible. When elephants are being hunted, the holes are made narrower at the bottom so that the animal becomes wedged in and unable to move. Many unsuspecting natives lose their lives in these traps, for the sides are so steep that it is almost impossible to climb out, especially should the unfortunate be alone and injured by the spikes at the bottom.

"In hunting the larger bush animals, and also crocodiles, the spear is the most common weapon, and this is hurled with great precision and swiftness. But in hunting smaller game, as the small antelopes, coypus or palm-rats, bush-pigs, and gazelle-like animals, long string nets are employed. These nets are placed in a semi-circle near where the animal is supposed to be, and then the hunters carefully beat the bush, driving the game before them into the net. Most of the hunting spears are light, with a small blade and thin shaft, and some have barbs along either side of the blade." [2]

Fishing is carried on along the rivers by various methods. Torches are used at night, and when the fish rise to the surface a spear is hurled. During high water, dams are built by the side of the river, so that when it recedes, the fish will be left behind. Traps and nets of various ingenious kinds are also used.

Of the smaller animals, grasshoppers and rats are great delicacies. "After the rainy season, when the long grass is burnt, the rat season commences. They are caught in long, narrow, basket-work traps, which are cylindrical in shape, and placed in such positions that when the grass is set alight, the rats will run into the traps, which are too narrow for them to turn around in. They are then killed, skewered and broiled." [3]

"The evening meal is practically the only meal of the day, and every effort is made to render it as tasty as possible with the limited ingredients at the disposal of the woman cook. Cassava figures as the principal article in every *menu*; and for this meal it is commonly prepared by soaking it for three days, and then, after peeling, coring,

[1] J. H. Weeks, Among the Congo Cannibals, p. 234.
[2] Ibid.
[3] H. Ward, Five Years with the Congo Cannibals, p. 60.

and dividing it into quarters, it is steamed, and comes out looking white and appetizing. Either fish, or meat when procurable, is stewed in a small saucepan or roasted over the fire, or wrapped in leaves and covered with red-hot embers; but if there is neither fish nor meat, then a sauce of pounded leaves, red peppers and palm-oil is concocted, and the whole is washed down with gulps of water.

FALLS ON THE CONGO RIVER WITH VILLAGE FISH POUNDS

The fish are caught here, by means of traps and nets, after they get into the swift water of the falls. (Courtesy of the Philadelphia Commercial Museum)

They prefer to keep sugar-cane wine for their drinking-bouts and for their cannibal feasts, the latter, in their view, demanding something better than water.

"The food is served first to the elders (male), and if visitors are present they take precedence according to their age. As a rule the members of a family are polite to one another, and any departure from the usual forms of courtesy is regarded with disapprobation by the other members of the family. Guests are treated with hospitality, and are protected by the family they are visiting, and I never knew a guest come to harm during a visit. Men and women do not eat together, as it is accounted immodest and indecent for a woman to eat with a man; and it is *infra dig.* for a man to partake

of his food with a woman. They eat by themselves at some little distance, and usually out of sight and hearing of the men." [1]

Practically all the Congo peoples are, or rather were, up to a short time ago, cannibals. They eat human flesh because they like it, not because they expect to get any spiritual help by the process. Slain enemies, friends who are sick unto death, slaves, or people brought in from other tribes for the purpose are eaten, and not infrequently families who are friendly exchange the bodies of relatives.

A CONGO VILLAGE

Courtesy of the Philadelphia Commercial Museum

Houses and villages. The houses are rectangular in shape, made from bamboo or other woods, with walls and roof made of palm-braid thatch.

"A village may have from twenty to five hundred huts in it, and even more. The rows of houses are generally built in parallel lines to the river; and a head-man possesses one or more lines, according to the size of his family or clan. He may have many wives, slaves and their wives, 'pawns,' and dependents, and consequently own several rows of houses; or he may be the eldest of several brothers who, with their wives, slaves, etc., jointly own several rows of dwellings. The former head-man is a greater man than the latter, he has

[1] J. H. Weeks, Among the Congo Cannibals, p. 117.

more prestige in the town, and has greater influence in its palavers, for such a man is the head of a powerful family, each unit of which may number more than the brothers, their wives and slaves." [1]

Industrial life. The Congo natives are great trading peoples — the best in Africa — carrying their produce miles, either on their heads or in their canoes, to neighboring markets. If there are neither markets nor market places, a person having anything to sell walks

A CONGO MARKET
Courtesy of the Philadelphia Commercial Museum

through the town calling out its name. "Sometimes a person catches a fish that is taboo to him, and he will hawk it through the town to try to exchange it for another that he can eat." [2]

Trading methods, here as elsewhere among primitive people, are in the nature of haggling. There are neutral market places, which are the scene of their vociferous and forensic exchange-operations.

Iron hoes and brass rods are the currency, the latter being the more common on the Upper Congo. Weeks describes the form of money used, while he was there, as follows: "A brass rod at that time was 15 inches long and not quite so thick as a slate pencil.

[1] J. H. Weeks, Among the Congo Cannibals, pp. 115–116. [2] Ibid. p. 114.

Everything had its price in brass rods — one egg = one brass rod; a fowl = ten brass rods; two yards of cloth = twenty brass rods; a male slave = 600 brass rods; and a female slave = 2500 brass rods. The brass wire for these rods was originally melted down for their brass ornaments — anklets, necklaces, armlets, leg rings, hafts of spears, paddles, and handles of knives, etc. It was using the brass for this purpose that first gave it any real value to them; and then they exchanged certain lengths of the brass wire at a fixed price — so many fathoms for a goat, etc., and gradually the lengths of brass wire became the medium of exchange, the unit of value, the currency of the country. In 1890 the brass rods still retained their value not so much as a medium of barter, although they were convenient for that purpose, but as the metal from which they made their most popular ornaments. It is quite possible that the rods changed hands in fathom lengths and those who came into possession of these lengths, each cut off a little piece to procure a bit of brass for nothing, and hence the length was gradually shortened, until in 1890 it was 15 inches. The process of shortening continued, and in 1905 the standard length was only 11 inches. In Bolobo it was about $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and on the Lower Congo, where brass wire was used long before it filtered through to the tribes on the Upper Congo, it was from four to five inches only in 1905. Of course, with the shortening of the rod, a larger number was given for the article to be purchased. Every white man imported his brass wire in coils, and cut the rod to the length used in the district where he resided. Brass rods are now almost a drug in the market, for not only have they been poured into the country in a steady stream for the last thirty years, but the custom of melting down brass for the manufacture of ornaments has been slowly dying out during the last ten years. They desire other things than simply ornaments now." [1]

"In their business transactions credit is frequently given, and for such credit no interest is expected. To recover a debt a creditor first duns the debtor until he is tired, then he breaks the pots and saucepans, and anything he finds outside the debtor's house, and finishes by telling him that on a certain day he will call again for the money. If the debtor then fails to pay, the creditor will collect a few of his friends, and together they will go and lie in ambush near

[1] J. H. Weeks, Among the Congo Cannibals, pp. 39–40.

the farms until a wife of the debtor comes along, when they will pounce upon her and take her to their town. The woman will kick, struggle and scream for the sake of appearances, but she knows that she will be lightly tied and well treated.

"The debtor will hear of the capture of his wife, and, supposing he owes 1000 brass rods, he will collect the money as quickly as possible, and take it with 500 extra rods, which he will now have to pay to his creditor to compensate him and his friends for the trouble of tying up the woman and the cost of feeding her. As a woman is worth nearly 3000 rods, it pays the debtor to redeem his property by paying his debt and the sum demanded for expenses. . . .

"From his very boyhood the Boloki was a keen trader. He accompanied his father on all trading journeys as soon as he was able to beat time with a stick on the bow of the canoe, or handle a paddle. In the village he learned the value of different articles, and nothing delighted him more than exchanging what he did not want for something that he needed. While his father was bartering he would eagerly listen, and thus learn how to praise his own goods, and disparage in depreciatory terms the articles which he desired to purchase, so as to lower their prices. Before an article could be exchanged with profit to himself he had many things to learn — the first cost of the article, the time spent in hawking it, the payment and keep of those who helped to paddle him from place to place in search of a buyer — or he would find himself poorer at the end of his trading expedition than he was at the beginning. This was no small part of the lad's education." [1]

Manufacturing. Pottery was not made on a wheel. The women built it up on a "base by rolling the clay between the palms of the hands into long pencils about the size of a finger, and then welding the strip to the base and flattening it out with their fingers as they worked it around the pot. . . . In baking their pottery no kilns were used, but firewood was laid carefully on the ground, and the pots arranged on the top, and then small firewood, twigs, etc., were thrown over the whole pile and the fire lighted." [2]

Iron ore was smelted in native crucibles. "The furnace was a hole about 18 inches deep, about 15 inches in diameter at the top, and 8 to 10 inches at the bottom. Charcoal made from hard woods

[1] J. H. Weeks, Among the Congo Cannibals, pp. 114–115, 143. [2] Ibid. pp. 87–88.

was the heating medium. The smelting pot with the ore was put in the middle of the furnace, and the blast was furnished by native bellows and conducted to the heart of the furnace by a funnel-shaped tube of burnt clay. The bellows were cut out of a solid block of wood. There were two holes, each from 8 to 12 inches in diameter, which opened below into a common wooden tube which fitted into the above-mentioned clay funnel. Over each of the holes a soft skin was securely tied, and to the centre of each skin was fixed a stick about 3 feet, 6 inches long. The operator worked the sticks up and down alternately, and the more vigorously he worked the more powerful the blast.

A WOODEN PORTRAIT FIGURE OF BOPE PELENGE, A GREAT CHIEF OF THE BUSHANGO TRIBE, CONGO STATE (ABOUT 1790)

Courtesy of the British Museum

"The native blacksmith made hoes and axes; knives of various shapes and sizes; spear-heads of different kinds, barbed for fishing-spears, small-bladed ones for fighting, or broad-bladed fancy spears for purposes of show when visiting friends and neighbours. He also fashioned large hooks for catching crocodiles, the razors for shaving the head or face, lances for killing hippopotami, knives for household use, gouges and chisels for canoe-making, and piercers for mat-making. Unfortunately the introduction of European knives, hoes and axes has ruined this native industry. . . .

"The social position of a smith among the natives was very high, and he was regarded with as much respect as a professional man is in Europe. The natives thought that the smith was not only wise and skilful, but that he practised witchcraft in order to perform his work properly. No one was allowed to step over a smith's furnace, nor blow it with his mouth, nor spit into it, as either of these actions

would pollute the fire, and thus cause bad workmanship. Any person polluting the fire would have to compensate the smith by the payment of a heavy fine. A smith taught his son or his nephew the trade, but would not take an apprentice on any consideration. He was always known by the name of his trade, and was consequently called *motuli* = the one who *tula*, or works in iron." [1]

Marriage and the family. Girls are frequently betrothed at a very early age, and payments pass from the man, who may be forty years

CONGO WOMEN

Courtesy of the Philadelphia Commercial Museum

old, to the parents of the girl, who may not yet be old enough to give her consent. "When the girl arrives at a suitable age, and sometimes even before puberty, she is taken by her parents, together with some sugar-cane wine, to her husband, and handed over to him, and on the man giving the parents a present the transaction is completed." [2] When a free man marries a free woman, the price which he has to pay her parents consists of two male and two female slaves; brass rods or barter goods will not be taken in lieu of them.

[1] J. H. Weeks, Among the Congo Cannibals, pp. 88–89 and 90–91. [2] Ibid. p. 122.

"During the time the man is collecting the marriage money he will build a house, if he does not already possess one, and the girl, under the supervision of her mother, will prepare a farm. After the ceremony described above is over, the girl borrows all the finery she can of her female friends, decorates herself with palm-oil and camwood powder, and for two or three weeks walks about the town with her husband — a sign to all that she is now his wife. If the man has already a few wives, they will help to 'dress her' by the loan of their own trinkets, and will lead her about the town as a proof that she is now a fellow-wife and belongs to their husband." [1]

A man may marry as many free women as he can pay for, but to each he must give a house, and they all have equal rights. Besides these he may possess numerous female slaves; but should he be unable to buy any of these, he can hire them for a time.

"When a free woman does not want to marry the man who is trying to arrange for her, she will tell him frankly that if he persists in marrying her, she will run away from him. But if, in spite of this threat, he completes the arrangements, then a few days after the marriage she will escape to a neighbouring town and put herself under the protection of the chief by tearing his cloth. The chief then gives the husband notice of what has happened, and before he can claim his wife he has to pay the chief 600 brass rods = 39 s. as compensation for his torn cloth. If the husband does not then permit her to marry the man she wants, she runs away again and again, and every time she runs it will cost her husband 600 brass rods. A sensible man will take warning by the first threat, and will not complete the marriage." [2]

A man is not allowed to have anything to do with his mother-in-law; in fact, if he hears that she is coming, he will run in the opposite direction and hide.

On the Lower Congo the women desire to have children, but on the upper stretches of the river small families are the rule.

"This may be accounted for by the fact that on the Lower Congo the law of mother-right is in full force, and consequently all the children belong to the mother and her family; while on the Upper Congo father-right is the general custom, and the children belonging to the father, the mother has no particular interest in them.

[1] J. H. Weeks, Among the Congo Cannibals, p. 124. [2] Ibid. p. 126.

"The beliefs of a tribe considerably affect their point of view, and this is seen in nothing more emphatically than in their beliefs about child-bearing. On the Lower Congo a non-child-bearing woman is the butt of the town's ridicule. She is sneered at, pointed at by all the other women, and is the object of their scorn. She feels degraded in the eyes of all, and, however much she may blame her husband, or may try to prove that she is bewitched, yet her shame is bitterly felt and resented. She has failed ignominiously in her one paramount duty to her family. Her sterility is the constant theme of her husband's bickerings; and when everything else fails to quiet her or stop her nagging tongue, he has only to hint at this abnormal disability and she is choked with chagrin and almost ready to commit suicide. . . .

There are cases on record where a man had "eight wives, and he had five children by one and none by the others; another had ten wives and no children; another had twenty-three wives and only one child; another twenty-five wives and three children only; another who had eight wives had three children." [1]

Self-gratification. In this region there is a great deal of painting and scarring of the body, of tooth-filing and lip-plugging. Heavy rings are frequently worn on the limbs, the wearer being sometimes almost unable to walk by reason of the weight of his finery. Umbrellas are a mark of dignity. What native clothing is worn is chiefly of bark. Naturally these people are very fond of European clothing and trinkets.

"It is customary among the Upper Congo people to stamp their features and persons, by means of cicatrization [scarring], with various designs, differing according to the tribe. About the age of four the operation is first commenced, the skin of the face being gashed in conformity with the tribal pattern; after some months have elapsed, so that the wounds may be completely healed, they are re-cut, and each gash is filled with red-wood powder, produced from crushed camwood, of which the forest yields a plentiful supply. After frequent repetitions of this barbarous mutilation, the skin and flesh become hardened and protrude in lumps, between the incisions." [2]

"The natives are fond of water, and bathe frequently during a hot day; and children are bathed regularly twice a day. A mother takes her infant to the river and, gripping it tightly just under the

[1] J. H. Weeks, Among the Congo Cannibals, pp. 129, 135. [2] Ibid. p. 136.

right armpit, she dips it beneath the water. And, after holding it there many moments, she will lift it out, and just as it regains its breath to start crying, down it will go again. This is repeated about a dozen times, and then rubbing the superfluous water with the palm of her hand, she holds it out in the sun for a few moments to dry. Riverine people can remain under the water for a long time while attending their fish-nets, and this habit they have gained from those infantile experiences, when it was either holding the breath, or drinking a quantity of dirty river water." [1]

A GIRL WITH DECORATED SCARS

Courtesy of the Philadelphia Commercial Museum

Religion. The religion of the Congo tribes is difficult to define. Belief in a Supreme Being is vague but universal, but as this Being is good, or at least neutral, he is disregarded. It is believed by the natives that, after having performed his creative works, he withdrew to a great distance; that "He has now little or no concern in mundane affairs; and apparently no power over spirits and no control over the lives of men, either to protect them from malignant spirits or to help them by averting danger. They also consider the Supreme Being (*Nzambi*) as being so good and kind that there is no need to appease Him by rites, ceremonies or sacrifices." [2] Consequently the native applies himself to the propitiation and coercion, by magical means, of the countless malignant spirits with which he imagines himself to be surrounded, and which are constantly on the watch to catch him unawares.

[1] J. H. Weeks, Among the Congo Cannibals, p. 109. [2] Ibid. p. 247.

Every person has a fetish, which is carried around most of the time. If a man is ill, he goes to the medicine man and obtains a special fetish to help his complaint.

"On the Lower Congo the native offers periodic sacrifices to his fetish to keep it in a good humour, otherwise through sulkiness it may refuse to help him; or he returns it to a medicine man to renew its energies when it proves too weak for his purpose; he explodes gunpowder around it to arouse it to proper alertness that it may attend to its owner's affairs; or he beats it to make it subservient to his wishes, but he never worships it, nor does he ever pay homage to it." [1]

A CONGO CHIEF IN FULL CEREMONIAL DRESS

Courtesy of the Philadelphia Commercial Museum

The soul of man is supposed to leave the body during sleep, in a trance, and at death. The mouths and nostrils of the recently dead are plugged and tied, for the people think that the soul of a dying man escapes through the mouth or nose, and hence they are tied to keep the spirit as long as possible. They conceive of the soul of a person also as in his shadow, his reflection in the water or a mirror, and in his photograph.

When anyone dies, the occurrence is laid to one of three things: either an act of the Supreme Being, another's witchcraft, or his own witchcraft. The medicine man or witch doctor is called in to determine which of the three is responsible. If someone else has caused the death, the doctor points out the man or woman supposed to be

[1] J. H. Weeks, Among the Congo Cannibals, p. 254.

guilty, and the death of the accused speedily follows. Bodies, after being painted and decorated with shells, etc., are buried in the ground, if they are not eaten. Usually one or more of the wives of a man are killed at the grave, and for a big chief as many as three hundred victims have been slain. It was partly to provide such victims that a brisk slave trade was kept up. Bodies have frequently been disinterred for cannibalistic purposes.

Regulative system. There is a division of classes, as is natural where migration and subjugation are the order of the day: an aristocracy at the top and slaves at the bottom. Central Africa has been a great stronghold of human servitude from time immemorial; long before the coming of the Arabs and Portuguese the tribes enslaved one another, for the possession of slaves meant wealth and power. However, native slavery was very mild as compared with the system after the coming of the foreigner. The man hunts, continued with redoubled energy under Arab and European influence, produced general devastation.

The general political situation is one of disintegration. The people are all split up into tribes, and there are numerous petty princes, each with his military establishment. The chief is *primus inter pares*, and is so much the greater if he is also a witch doctor. Empires grow under capable chiefs; then these chiefs put their relatives in charge of provinces, revolts ensue, the strong chief dies and is succeeded by a weak heir, and presently the empire breaks up.

CHAPTER VI

NEGROES OF THE WEST CENTRAL COAST

The word *negro* comes from the Latin *niger* meaning "black," and is used to distinguish the distinctly dark-skinned peoples from the fair, yellow, and brown varieties of mankind. In its broadest sense it applies to all the dark races of Africa, Australia, and the islands of the Pacific, but it is most convenient to refer to the peoples of these zones as Negroids and to reserve the term *Negro* for those tribes which exhibit in the most marked degree the typical characteristics of this variety of man.

The genuine Negroes are found in Africa and occupy part of the territory south of the Sahara Desert and north of the Bantu group, which contains their nearest relatives.

"The relation of the yellowish-brown Bushman and Hottentot peoples of the southern extremity of Africa to the negro is uncertain; they possess certain negroid characters: the tightly curled hair, the broad nose, the tendency towards prognathism; but their color and a number of psychological and cultural differences would seem to show that the relation is not close." [1]

Geography and climate. The territory occupied by the Negro is lower than other portions of Africa, averaging only about two thousand feet. Along the Guinea, Gold, Slave, and Ivory coasts, that region with which this chapter is to deal, there are very deep indentations made by lagoons with heavily wooded shores.

"The amount of vegetation in Africa varies generally according to distance from the equator. The equatorial region is a dense forest resulting from the copious rains, while towards the north and south the amount of rain diminishes and finally ceases almost altogether, giving rise to wide stretches of desert. Only differences of elevation and proximity to the sea modify this general law." [2]

[1] T. A. Joyce, in Encyclopædia Britannica under "Negro."

[2] J. Dowd, The Negro Race, p. 68. Reprinted by permission of the publishers, The Macmillan Company. Copyright, 1907.

Along the western coast and inland near the equator the jungle is so dense that not only is the sun obscured but the air is excluded, so that while the tops of trees are rustling in the breeze the people below are gasping for breath.

The rainy season is from June to October, but on the Guinea coast the rain falls from two hundred to two hundred and fifty days in the year. This makes a large number of swamps and stagnant pools which are breeding places for diseases.

"Except in a few favored localities the climate of the Sudan is fatal to the European. The high temperature and the humid air, unrelieved by change of seasons, are exceedingly enervating, and nowhere near the coast can one refresh himself with a cool draught of water. At the close of the rainy season, the miasmatic exhalations from the stagnant waters, left everywhere by the subsidence of the rivers, poison the atmosphere and render it injurious and often fatal to both man and beast." [1]

The death rate of whites in this region is enormous. It has been estimated that out of every 1000 members of the white population 680 succumb to the effects of the heat and disease. The native, however, is adapted to this climate.

Animal life. "The animal life of the Sudan comprises the elephant, buffalo, giraffe, hippopotamus, lion, tiger, wolf, ox, sheep, goat, deer, ass, camel, hyena, jackal, panther, wildcat, lynx, leopard, rhinoceros, wild boar, hare, squirrel, hog, monkey, antelope, etc. The natives claim that there are two species of crocodile: one which man eats and one which eats man. The number of wild animals available for food is not very great in the neighborhood of the coast, on account of the swampy nature of the country and the dense forests, and the early introduction of the shot-gun which has depleted the region of such animals as it originally contained. Elephants were formerly very abundant along the island seaboard, and in the sixteenth century more ivory came from the Gambia region than from any other part of Africa." [2]

Physical and mental characters of the Negro. The Negro is tall and has a dolichocephalic skull, a prognathous jaw, a broad and flat nose, full and everted lips, and large teeth. The color of the skin

[1] J. Dowd, The Negro Race, p. 72. Reprinted by permission of the publishers, The Macmillan Company. Copyright, 1907. [2] Ibid. p. 73.

varies from a dark brown to nearly black. The skin has a velvety texture and characteristic odor. The hair is black, tightly curled, flat in cross section, and is scanty on face and body. The arm is very long, especially the forearm, so that frequently the tips of fingers will nearly touch the knees. The legs are long, with a very small calf and, consequently, a projecting heel.

A NEGRO MAN

Courtesy of the Philadelphia Commercial Museum

"Mentally the negro is inferior to the white. The remark of F. Manetta, made after a long study of the negro in America, may be taken as generally true of the whole race: 'The negro children were sharp, intelligent and full of vivacity, but on approaching the adult period a gradual change set in. The intellect seemed to become clouded, animation giving place to a sort of lethargy, briskness yielding to indolence. We must necessarily suppose that the development of the negro and white proceeds on different lines. While with the latter the volume of the brain grows with the expansion of the brainpan, in the former the growth of the brain is on the contrary arrested by the premature closing of the cranial sutures and lateral pressure of the frontal bone.' This explanation is reasonable and even probable as a contributing cause; but evidence is lacking on the subject and the arrest or even deterioration in mental development is no doubt very largely due to the fact that after puberty sexual matters take first place in the negro's life and thoughts. At the same time his environment has not been such as would tend to produce in him the restless energy which has

led to the progress of the white race; and the easy conditions of tropical life and the fertility of the soil have reduced the struggle for existence to a minimum. But though the mental inferiority of the negro to the white or yellow races is a fact, it has often been exaggerated; the negro is largely the creature of his environment, and it is not fair to judge of his mental capacity by tests taken directly from the environment of the white man, as for instance tests in mental arithmetic; skill in reckoning is necessary to the white race, and it has cultivated this faculty; but it is not necessary to the negro.

A NEGRO DRUMMER

Courtesy of the Philadelphia Commercial Museum

"On the other hand negroes far surpass white men in acuteness of vision, hearing, sense of direction and topography. A native who has once visited a particular locality will rarely fail to recognize it again. For the rest, the mental constitution of the negro is very similar to that of a child, normally good-natured and cheerful, but subject to sudden fits of emotion and passion during which he is capable of performing acts of singular atrocity, impressionable, vain, but often exhibiting in the capacity of servant a dog-like fidelity which has stood the supreme test. Given suitable training, the negro is capable of becoming a craftsman of considerable skill, particularly in metal work, carpentry and carving. The bronze castings by the *cire perdue* process, and the cups and horns of ivory elaborately carved, which were produced by the

natives of Guinea after their intercourse with the Portuguese of the 16th century, bear ample witness to this. But the rapid decline and practical evanescence of both industries, when that intercourse was interrupted, shows that the native craftsman was raised for the moment above his normal level by direct foreign inspiration, and was unable to sustain the high quality of his work when that inspiration failed." [1]

The Negro is, as a rule, cruel, having little feeling for the suffering of others and often delighting in the most diabolical tortures. If a man is ill and he has no slaves or wives to help him, he is left to die, and "the desertion by his parents and friends is not even regarded as a fault."

"The most revolting scenes of cruelty and bloodshed are regarded by the populace generally with positive pleasure and no sooner is the death-drum heard, than an excited mob, eager for the spectacle, rushes to the spot and imbitters the last moments of the victims with taunts and jeers. . . . The executioners to pander to the tastes of the mob or to gratify their own lust for cruelty, practice the most shocking barbarities, blunting their knives to increase the suffering of their victims or cutting pieces of flesh from the neck before striking off the head. In fact, the most refined tortures that human ingenuity can devise are constantly inflicted, death is ever present, and human suffering and human life are alike disregarded. Two Europeans who witnessed an execution in Ashanti reported that the 'murderer with his hands bound behind him, a knife through his cheeks, and two forks piercing his back, was dragged by a rope past our rooms. . . . Commencing at midday, the punishment increased in intensity till eight o'clock, when the poor wretch was gashed all over, his arms cut off, and himself compelled to dance for the amusement of the king before being taken to the place of execution. If he could not or would not dance, lighted torches were applied to his wounds; to escape this excessive torture he made the greatest efforts to move, until the drum was beaten and the head cut off.'" [2]

Self-maintenance. The Negro is, first of all, an agriculturist, except in those regions where the denseness of the jungle or the

[1] T. A. Joyce, in Encyclopædia Britannica under "Negro."

[2] A. B. Ellis, The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast of West Africa, pp. 174–175.

impenetrability of the swamps makes artificial planting impossible. The principal crops are yams, bananas, manioc, and some maize, but the chief crop is the yam. This is a tuber or root resembling the potato, only very much larger, sometimes being three feet in length. The fields for its planting are prepared by being burned over, and the ashes are then turned in to act as fertilizer. The earth is made into little hills, in each one of which a yam is placed. During the growing season great care has to be taken to keep the weeds out,

NEGRO WOMEN WITH AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS
Courtesy of the Field Museum of Natural History

for a very short time would suffice to choke out the young plants. At the time of the harvest everyone goes out into the fields to help. The yams are gathered and stored in a house used solely for that purpose, on the outskirts of the village. It is usually left open, but in order to protect it from theft magical charms, obtained from the medicine man, are hung around it. These are so effective that no one will go near the building who does not belong there. The yam is prepared for eating either by being peeled, cut into slices, and boiled in a pot, or by being mashed with other things into a sort of pudding.

Next to agriculture, hunting and fishing are important, and in some few districts cattle-raising occurs. While the Negro is principally a vegetarian, it is not because he prefers to be, but rather because animal food is scarce. Meat is regarded as a great delicacy; but even among the cattle-raising peoples it is not plentiful, for since the cattle are regarded as capital and currency they are seldom killed. But where the natives will not kill their domestic animals they will

A NEGRO VILLAGE SHOWING A FISH TRAP
Courtesy of the Philadelphia Commercial Museum

kill human beings. Human flesh is eaten not because any magical good is expected to come of it, but rather because the people like it.

The chief drink is palm wine, which is collected from the palm tree as follows:

"Every morning and evening the climber ascends this palm, and making with a very sharp knife a small incision in the bark, inserts a bamboo funnel, and hangs up a calabash or gourd into which the sap slowly trickles. In the morning he collects the product of the night, and in the evening that of the day. The method of climbing is very ingenious. Putting around the trunk one end of an elongated hoop of bamboo and basket-work, the climber gets into the other

end; it clasps him securely round the waist, and, leaning back, he ascends by working the opposite end of the hoop up the trunk in the series of notches made by the lopping off of the branches as the tree increased in growth, his feet at the same time climbing up from notch to notch. It is poured out into earthen pots or glass demi-johns, and diluted with the same quantity of water. Undiluted, it is rather strong and heady. Palm-wine tastes something like cider, and varies considerably, sometimes being quite sweet, while at other times it is almost as bitter as Herefordshire cider. Chiefs, and other people who can afford it, occasionally drink enough of it to become intoxicated." [1]

One of the most important crafts is the smelting and working of iron.

"No negro tribe has been found of which the culture is typical of the stone age; or, indeed, which makes any use of stone implements except to crush ore and hammer metal. Even these are rough pieces of stone of convenient size, not shaped in any way by chipping or grinding. Doubtless the richness of the African soil in metal ores rendered the stone age in Africa a period of very short duration." [2]

Many of the artisans, for example, the smiths, have formed castes or guilds. Other industries include basketwork, pottery, and the weaving of cloth.

In this region there is shown great talent for commerce; one authority says that it is the "only force making for culture." There are weekly markets, and every Negro village has its broker; trading prime ministers and trading viceroys are also to be found. The articles of trade are the products of the country and the things manufactured by the people. Where the Europeans have appeared they have brought with them such things as muskets, gunpowder, rum, fabrics, and trinkets, which have been exchanged for gold, ivory, palm oil, and, formerly, slaves.

"Trading is practised either by direct barter or through the medium of rude forms of currency which vary according to locality. Value is reckoned among the tribes with pastoral tendencies in cattle and goats; among the eastern negroes by hoe-and-spear-blades and salt blocks; in the west by cowries, brass rods, and bronze armlets." [3]

[1] C. Partridge, Cross River Natives, pp. 150–151.
[2] T. A. Joyce, in Encyclopædia Britannica under "Negro." [3] Ibid.

"The early writers report that the transportation system consisted of porters, mostly women, who carried goods to and from the markets. Not infrequently a woman supported a baby on her back in addition to her load of merchandise. In thick forests the carriers bore their loads in frames on their backs while with a knife in hand they cut their way through the underbrush. Rich people sometimes traveled in hammocks borne by their slaves. Dahoman princes now and then rode on horseback, but the horse was regarded as a rare and strange beast and always two slaves had to walk beside the rider to hold him on. The same methods of transportation exist at the present time with the addition of a few railroads lately constructed by Europeans. One of these roads runs from the Dahoman Coast to the middle course of the Niger and another from Lagos to Rabba on the Niger. Of course, canoe navigation is common on all the bays and rivers, but the boats made and used by the natives are generally of inferior workmanship. . . .

Slavery. "Slavery in this zone, as everywhere else in the Sudan, has existed from time immemorial and owes its origin to native economic and political conditions. As the men do not work it is evident that they do not need helpers or slaves. On the other hand as all of the work falls upon the women, it is evident that if slave labor is used at all it must be to help them. The demand for labor is partly supplied by the addition of several wives to each household. Now, as each man has several wives it would seem that whatever work is necessary for the support of a family could be done by the combined labor of the wives, but not so. The wives have a disposition to shirk their work, especially when they are used as porters to carry goods to and from the markets, and therefore it becomes necessary to seek other laborers. But where is the supply to come from? Land being free and capital a superfluity, every man can make an easy living and need not under any circumstances ask another man to support him. Hence no one will voluntarily work for another and the only way that laborers can be obtained is by coercion, that is, by forcing them to work as slaves. Here we find the explanation of slavery. Primarily it arises from the indisposition of people to work for themselves, and secondarily, from their inability to get others to work for them except by force. . . .

"Slaves were obtained by sale of debtors and criminals and by kidnapping and raiding. . . . Not only is the labor of slaves light but it is less painful than the labor of the serving class among civilized people. Slaves can hunt, fish, dance and enjoy all the excitements common to free men. They work only with irregularity, and the demands upon their attention are only intermittent. Often slaves are left to do as they please provided they lodge at home, feed themselves and give to their master a fixed sum per week." [1]

"They are considered members of the family, they can acquire and inherit property, they can own slaves themselves and not infrequently purchase their freedom by buying other slaves to take their places. Prior to the European intervention, idle, vicious and mutinous slaves were punished by flogging and imprisonment, but no slave-owner could take the life of his slave, and it was seldom that a slave ran away." [2]

However, where there are too many slaves to carry on the limited amount of economic life, the superfluous ones are kept for food. As a rule all a man's slaves are killed on his grave. It was from this district that the slaves brought to the United States were largely derived.

Houses and villages. The houses are either rectangular or round, but in all cases there is only one family to each house. They are built around an open space, with the fronts facing in, the backs forming the outer wall of the inclosure. When there are too few houses for this purpose the gaps between them are filled in with high stakes. There are no windows in the back walls. A village may consist of a great many of these compounds, each one of which is occupied by a man, his family, and his relations. If the village is in a warlike district, it is surrounded by a high stockade which has only one entrance to it, and this very narrow.

The rectangular houses have a solid foundation of dried mud a yard high, upon which is erected a light framework of wood. The roof is made of palm branches woven into mats. The round houses, which are the more primitive, have a wall made of mud and small stones, and a conical thatched roof capable of throwing off the heavy

[1] J. Dowd, The Negro Race, pp. 97, 98, 99. Reprinted by permission of the publishers, The Macmillan Company. Copyright, 1907.

[2] A. B. Ellis, The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa, pp. 219–220.

tropical showers. Every town has an open space which is used by the community for gatherings and public meetings, and here is erected the temple or shrine to the local deity.

Marriage and the family. There are two ways for a man to obtain a wife: he may capture her, or he may purchase her by means of gifts to her parents. As a rule girls are cheap, for they are more plentiful than men and are not regarded as an especial asset to a family. In some places the purchase price consists of a few ornaments to the girl.

"In Dahomi it used to be the custom for the men to purchase their wives from the king, who was supposed to own everything in the

A NEGRO VILLAGE

Courtesy of the Philadelphia Commercial Museum

empire, including the women. He kept up his supply by frequent raids upon neighboring villages. In many cases children are betrothed at five or six years of age, and sometimes before they are born. In either event the purchaser pays to the girl's parents a part of the price in advance, and the balance when the girl reaches the age of puberty. If a betrothed girl dies the family must substitute another. Girls who reach the marriageable age without being betrothed, make their début into society by painting their faces and arms, decking themselves with jewels and finery, and with a broom in their hands to drive away evil spirits, exhibit themselves in the streets. They thus announce that they are ready to receive bids. Marriage is a somewhat commercial or animal affair in which there is little admixture

of romance. A suitor does not say, 'I love this girl,' but 'I want her.' Being a mere chattel the girl has no choice in the selection of her husband. A female is always treated as property; first she is the property of her parents, then of her husband (although in some cases a wife may own property distinct from that of her husband's) and later of her inheritor. In some districts it is usual just before the marriage for women to be immured in huts for the purpose of undergoing a fattening process. In a majority of cases marriages are celebrated by feasting and dancing, but sometimes they occur without any kind of ceremony. Girls marry as soon as they reach the age of puberty, become mothers at the age of thirteen or fourteen, and grandmothers at the age of thirty-five." [1]

Polygamy prevails; in fact, a man's head wife urges him to take more wives so that the work will be lighter for herself. Each wife has a separate hut.

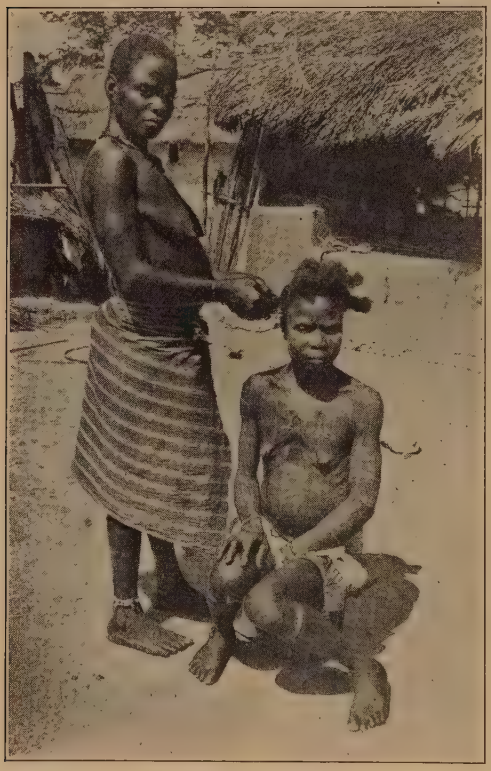
Most of the tribes are very lax about morality. A girl may choose whom she pleases before she is married, and although she may be betrothed, her future husband will not try to restrain her. Even after marriage there is little restraint placed on the sexes.

"The burden of supporting the family devolves almost exclusively upon the women. With two or three wives or slaves, a man can live from year to year in tolerable ease and luxury. His women bring food for him from the plantain groves, sometimes bearing on their backs a hundred weight of fruit. They bring fire-wood from the forest and water from the nearest streams. In so far as the man is concerned, the only burden of supporting a family consists in the original expenses of the wedding." [2]

Children are regarded as a blessing, not from any impulse of affection but rather as constituting an additional labor force. A mother will tend her child until it is old enough to shift for itself, and then she pays little more attention to it. Parents will frequently sell their children for slaves if they can get a good price for them. Twins are regarded with abhorrence, and a woman who brings forth more than one child at a birth is regarded as no better than an animal. It is thought that an evil spirit is the father of one of them, and hence either one or both are frequently destroyed.

[1] J. Dowd, The Negro Race, pp. 133–134. Reprinted by permission of the publishers, The Macmillan Company. Copyright, 1907. [2] Ibid. pp. 139–140.

Self-gratification. The original dress of this region was a cloth of woven grass around the waist, but since the people have been in contact with Europeans the styles have changed. Many of the people now wear colored cotton dresses which reach from the waist to the knees, and, over the shoulder, a mantle of some stuff. Nothing delights a native more than to rig himself out in the cast-off finery of a foreigner. The men have a special fondness for women's long white stockings, wearing many pairs one over another, however hot the weather. One Ashanti king is described as wearing a brown-velvet coat, white-satin trousers, a white-linen shirt, a black beaver hat with a band of silver lace, and a spotted-silk sash. The people attach to the body as many ornaments as possible, and the members of the royal family simply load their necks, shoulders, breasts, wrists, and ankles with gold trinkets. The body is frequently painted, especially on festival occasions or for religious reasons. During a period of mourning a woman will draw large white circles around her eyes, and before she is married her body is covered with red paint.



NEGRO WOMEN

Courtesy of the Philadelphia Commercial Museum

The Negroes are all fond of music and are quick to pick up new tunes. The boatmen sing all day when on a voyage, keeping time to the music with their paddles; the women sing while pounding

grain, and the farmer while working on his farm. The music is a sort of monotonous chant with a few reiterated phrases.

Religion. The basis of the religion of the Negro is animism. He conceives of a soul in everything, a belief which affords him an explanation for all phenomena. He himself has two principal souls, or spirits: one of which wanders during dreams, the other remaining with the body.[1] At death the body spirit goes to the next world, but the dream spirit (*kra*) may be reborn in other human beings or in animals.

A MODEL SHOWING A NEGRO MASKED DANCER

Courtesy of the Field Museum of Natural History

The *kra* escapes through the mouth of a sleeper, and if the mouth is left open a strange *kra* may enter and take up its abode there, thus causing much trouble. If a man is awakened suddenly, his *kra* may be away, so that the man becomes ill. The witch doctor is called in, and he gets a new one for the man. In daytime the *kra* will follow the man around in the form of a shadow, and so people will avoid walking on the shady side of the street for fear of losing their shadows and hence their *kras*. Alligators may pull a man into the river by seizing his shadow, and "murders are sometimes committed by secretly driving a nail or a knife into a man's shadow, but if the murderer be caught redhanded at it, he or she would be forthwith killed." [2]

If a man wakes up in the morning feeling tired he says that his

[1] A. B. Ellis, The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa, p. 102.
[2] M. H. Kingsley, West African Studies, p. 208.

dream soul has been out fighting and has been bruised; and if he wakes up in a fright, he jumps up and fires off his gun to scare away the devils that have been chasing his soul home. It is possible to injure the dream soul of another man by setting a trap for it containing things which the dream soul enjoys. Around the trap are put knives, if it is only desired to injure the dream soul, but fishhooks, if it is to be caught.

"The reason for catching dream-souls with hooks is usually a low mercenary one. You see, many patients insist on having their own dream-soul put back into them — they don't want a substitute from the doctor's store — so of course the soul has to be bought from the witch who has got it. Sometimes, however, the witch is the hireling of some one intent on injuring a particular person and keen on capturing the soul for this purpose, though too frightened to kill his enemy outright. So the soul is not only caught and kept, but tortured, hung up over the canoe fire and so on, and thus, even if the patient has another dream-soul put in, so long as his original soul is in the hands of a torturer, he is uncomfortable." [1]

Some of the Negro tribes do not limit these dual souls to man, but consider that plants have them. When the plant dies one soul goes to the land of the dead to form a plant there, and the *kra* is reborn in the seed which forms the new plant. All these nature spirits take an active part in man's economic, social, and political life, and thus there is a constant need of so propitiating them that they will deal kindly with him. Before any hunting or fishing expedition takes place the spirits must be invoked and sacrifices made; otherwise there will be little success, for the spirits become angry at the neglect and show their displeasure by keeping the game away.

In every community one of the most important individuals is the fetish man. In those districts where there are definite gods the fetish man becomes a priest devoted to the service of one god and incidentally of minor spirits; the other gods of the community are taken care of by other priests. Where the gods are less well-defined the fetish man deals with them all together and also takes charge of the spirits. If the gods are of little importance the fetish man takes charge of the spirits, assisted by one strong spirit with whom he has come in contact.

[1] M. H. Kingsley, West African Studies, p. 206.

"The priest's office may in some cases be hereditary, but it is not uniformly so, for the children of Fetish Men sometimes refuse to devote themselves to the pursuits of their parents and engage in other occupations. Anyone may enter the office after suitable training, and parents who desire that their children may be instructed in its mysteries place them with a Fetish Man, who receives a premium for each. The order of Fetish Men is further augmented by persons who declare that the fetish has suddenly seized on them. A series of convulsive and unnatural bodily distortions establish their claim.

A NEGRO DEATH CEREMONY
Courtesy of the Philadelphia Commercial Museum

Application is made to the fetish for counsel and aid in every domestic and public emergency. When persons find occasion to consult a private Fetish Man, they take a present of gold-dust and rum and proceed to his house. He receives the presents, and either puts a little of the rum on the head of every image or pours a small quantity on the ground before the platform as an offering to the whole pantheon; then, taking a brass pan with water in it, he sits down with the pan between him and the fetishes, and his inquirers also seat themselves to await the result. Having made these preparatory arrangements, looking earnestly into the water, he begins to snap his fingers, and addressing the fetish, extols his power, telling him that the people have arrived to consult him, and requesting him to

come and give the desired answer. After a time the Fetish Man is wrought up into a state of fury. He shakes violently and foams at the mouth; this is to intimate that the fetish has come home and that he himself is no longer the speaker, but the fetish, who uses his mouth and speaks by him. He now growls like a tiger and asks the people if they have brought rum, requiring them at the same time to present it to him. He drinks and then inquires for what purpose they have sent for him. If a relative is ill, they reply that such a member of their family is sick and they have tried all the means they could devise to restore him, but without success, and they, knowing he is a great fetish, have come to ask his aid, and beg him to teach them what they should do. He then speaks kindly to them, expresses a hope that he shall be able to help them, and says, 'I go to see.' It is imagined that the fetish then quits the priest, and, after a silence of a few minutes, he is supposed to return, and gives his response to the inquirers." [1]

Regulative system. Each tribe is ruled over by a king whose great symbol of power is his throne. A horse's tail hung from his shoulders indicates his rank, and it is to him alone that the privilege of having an umbrella carried over his head is granted. The king also carries a staff, with which he perambulates at night, driving people home — thus acting as a sort of curfew. The natives were formerly very slavish to the king, licking the soles of his feet as an indication of their subjection, and rubbing dust on their faces before they spoke to their royal master.

"The chief is surrounded by a council, the members of which are taken from the nobles or the village headmen. Several have about them nobles who gather up what they spit and take it out, a private stool-bearer, and a fool, who has to keep the environs of the palace clean. The principal burden on the chief are the fetters of the *china*, a grandeur recalling the Polynesian taboo, which forbids him — among the Loanga people the nobles also — to sleep in any place surrounded by water, whether island or boat, or to cross certain rivers. Some might not leave their dwellings at night, nor look upon the sea, a horse, or a white man. Sometimes he was a poor prisoner, with whom only his visible representative and three of the eldest men might hold intercourse, and that with their backs to him. As

[1] M. H. Kingsley, West African Studies, pp. 171–172.

elsewhere among negroes, the people hear nothing of the king's death; his body moulders away in the hut, after which the bones are buried in or beside it. Then follows the well-known interregnum when lawlessness prevails. The witch-doctors discover some one who has caused the death by magical arts, and who is naturally put to death therefore. Meanwhile the elders have ascertained the lawful heir; and then a band hunt an antelope in one direction and cut its head off, while another band in another direction similarly cut off the head of the first man they light upon. With the two heads the medicine-man then does magic business, that his consecration may not be lacking to the accession. Among some tribes the right of succession falls to the head wife; elsewhere she takes a place like the Lukokesha in Lunda. . . .

"The endlessly recurring conversations and councils between the chief and his magnates bear on the coast the ill-famed name of 'palavers' or in older writings 'cabals.' Every talk or council held by several persons is here called a palaver, and the name is transferred to the disputes which are settled at them. The most dangerous is the witch-palaver, at which the frequent trials for witchcraft are discussed; the most popular, as elsewhere, the brandy palaver." [1]

Secret societies. Secret societies play an important part not only socially but also politically in the lives of the people. The boys are initiated at puberty, but must pass through various grades (each grade admitting them to new rights and privileges) before they finally know all the secrets. Very few men reach the last stage. The meetings of these societies are held either in a house which is provided for the purpose and which no outsider may enter on pain of death or a heavy fine, or in a cleared space some distance from the village. After the meeting the members sing, dance, and feast. Surrounding the societies is a great deal of mystery for the uninitiated, so that the power wielded is great. If a man of the village has a debt that he is unable to collect, he reports to the head man of the society. That night the debtor either pays or has his property confiscated.

The mystery is used by the men to keep their authority over the women. If a dispute arises Mumbo Jumbo is sent for. This is really a man of the society dressed in a long bark coat and a straw headdress, making him about eight feet tall. The apparition utters

[1] F. Ratzel, The History of Mankind, Vol. III, pp. 127–129.

weird noises as it comes out of the bush at night, for it appears only at that time. When the women hear it coming they run screaming away in fear. If, however, a woman has committed some real offense, she is dragged out from her hiding place, tied to a post, and whipped with the Mumbo's rod. Both the pain and the terror are enough to keep her from offending again for a long time. One of the chief implements of many of these societies is the "bull-roarer," or whir-stick, which is sounded outside the village to announce the arrival of the members of the society. The sound is said to be the voice of a god.

In one place the members of the society act as police at night. They have the right to arrest anyone found out after nine o'clock. In Lagos, criminals condemned to death are given over to the members of the society, who are supposed to devour the bodies. Their clothes are afterwards found in the branches of the trees. Frequently the headless corpse of one of these unfortunates is left in the outskirts of the village, but no one dares to bury it.[1]

[1] Adapted from H. Webster's "Primitive Secret Societies," pp. 115 ff.

CHAPTER VII

MASAI

History and environment. The Masai live in the Uganda Protectorate of East Africa, in a region extending from the equator to six or seven degrees south.

Sir Harry Johnston believes that the Masai represent an early mixture between the Nilotic Negro and the Hamite (Galla-Somali). This blend of peoples must have been isolated somewhere in the high mountains or plateaus which lie along the Nile. Here the ancestors of the Masai race were no doubt first located, and here the Latuka — descendants of the ancestral Masai — still remain, speaking a language that is closely allied to the Masai tongue. This ancient intermixture between Hamite and Negro must have been a strong power thousands of years ago in the mountainous region east of the White Nile between latitudes 3° and 5°. They subjugated a section of the Nilotic Negroes (the Bari), and imposed on them a corrupt dialect of the Masai stock. Some tumultuous movement from the north, possibly on the part of other Nilotic Negroes, or else intertribal warfare or famine consequent on drought, drove the ancestors of the modern Masai from the mountainous region east of the White Nile.

"After a prolonged settlement on the lands lying between this great extinct volcano and the south-west coasts of Lake Rudolf, the Masai became divided into two groups — evidently not a very ancient division, since both sections speak practically the same language at the present day. The more powerful of these divisions reverted to a wholly pastoral life, a semi-nomad existence, and a devotion to cattle which caused them to raid and ravish in all directions to obtain and maintain enormous herds." [1] The weaker Masai lost a greater part of their oxen in the tribal war which took place between the agricultural and pastoral sections.

[1] H. H. Johnston, Uganda Protectorate, Vol. II, pp. 796–797.

Meantime the pastoral Masai had taken possession of the southern half of the Rift valley. Prospering mightily and increasing in numbers by reason of their valor, they came to recognize only two things as worthy of their care and interest, namely, cattle and warfare. All the young able-bodied men of the tribe were dedicated to fighting for at least twelve years of their manhood. Thus the pastoral Masai became the lords of East Africa about seventy or eighty years ago; of late years circumstances have tended to change their practice, if not their ideals.[1]

"When the Maskat Arabs first commenced the trading operations which led to their opening up the interior of Eastern Africa (about 1835), they already found that the Masai were a serious obstacle. They were a proud people, who would not stand the slightest bullying or maltreatment on the part of the Arabs or their black mercenaries, and a few wholesale massacres of Arab caravans by the Masai warriors gave the coast traders a dread (which frequently degenerated into panic), of these lithe fighters, armed with spears of great length or great breadth. In the earlier fifties of the last century the Masai raided to within sight of the Island of Mombasa. Their successful progress in the north was checked by the Galla and Somali, and by the aridity of the desert country north of the Tana River. Southwards the Masai might have carried their raids towards Tanganyika and Nyasa, but they encountered a tribe as warlike as themselves — the Wa-hehe, who had been virilised by a slight intermixture of Zulu blood, the result of a celebrated return to Central Africa on the part of a small section of the Zulu people in the first decades of the nineteenth century. The Masai probably reached their apogee about 1880. Since that time they have greatly declined in numbers, power, and pugnacity, owing to the repeated cattle plagues that swept down through Eastern Africa and destroyed so large a proportion of the cattle, which to the pastoral Masai were the one source of food." [2]

Physical features. "The true Masai as a race are tall, well-made people, slender and lissom, with no exaggerated muscular development, and little or no tendency to corpulence. They are long limbed, and the feet and hands are relatively greater than among Europeans,

[1] H. H. Johnston, Uganda Protectorate, Vol. II, pp. 796 ff.; C. Eliot, The East African Protectorate, pp. 134–135. [2] H. H. Johnston, Uganda Protectorate, Vol. II, p. 800.

though the feet are smaller and better formed than among the Bantu Negroes. They have no marked prognathism, and the nose is sometimes almost Caucasian in shape, with a well-developed bridge and finely cut nostrils. The chin is well formed, and the cheek-bones are not ordinarily as bulging as in the Nilotic Negro. The lips are sometimes prominent and much everted. The front teeth in the upper jaw are long, and are occasionally separated one from the other by a small space. The gum is often visible when the lips open, and the front teeth stick out. The mouth, in fact, is the least pleasant feature in the face of a Masai, the rest of whose face is sometimes modelled on quite a Caucasian plan. Almost all the men and most of the women knock out the two lower incisor teeth. Mr. Sidney Hinde states that the reason given by the Masai for this practice is that tetanus was once a scourge amongst them, and that it was found to be a comparatively simple matter to feed a man suffering from lockjaw if food could be introduced through the gap caused by taking out two of his lower incisor teeth. It may be this explanation has been invented recently to explain a very ancient custom inherited by the Masai from the Nilotic stock which was their origin; for amongst these people the removal of the lower incisor teeth is a very common practice." [1]

MASAI WARRIORS

Courtesy of the Philadelphia Commercial Museum

[1] H. H. Johnston, Uganda Protectorate, Vol. II, pp. 802–803.

Self-maintenance. "Neither the agricultural nor pastoral Masai are hunters of game in the same sense as the other negro tribes of the Protectorate. The grown-up men never molest zebras, antelopes, or harmless wild beasts, though boys may sometimes capture the fawns of gazelles, and are also given to the shooting of birds with arrows, as birds' feathers are required for certain of their ceremonies or for the making of head-dresses or capes for the warriors." [1]

"When lions become a scourge in the neighbourhood of villages, or when young warriors require lion skins for their head-dresses, a party of warriors array themselves in their war-paint and sally forth to bring them to bag. The lions, having been marked down in a patch of grass, one party walks in deliberately to flush them, while others wait in the open and attack them with their spears. Occasionally the lions break back, and the manœuvre has to be repeated. If a lion or lioness has been marked down, it very rarely escapes. In the case of a lion charging, the attackers stand absolutely still, since they maintain that a lion seldom or never charges home when any attempt at retreat means certain death. The only part of the skin used by the Masai is the mane, of which they make war head-dresses. Unlike most African races, they do not use the claws or teeth of lions as ornaments." [2]

"The pastoral Masai not only do not fish in any of the lakes and rivers, but they regard fish as a most unwholesome food. The agricultural Masai obtain fish by trapping and spearing, and eat it in much the same way as do their Bantu neighbours. The agricultural Masai also keep a few fowls, and eat them, together with their eggs; but fowls and eggs are absolutely eschewed by the pastoral Masai, who never keep this domestic bird.

"The domestic animals of both divisions of this race are cattle, sheep, goats, donkeys, and dogs. The cattle are of the humped zebu type, and do not differ in any important respect from the other humped domestic cattle of Eastern Africa. As the mainstay of their existence, the pastoral Masai attach enormous importance to their herds of cattle; and these animals, having been brought up from birth under the constant handling of man, woman, and child, are extremely docile to their owners, with the sole exception of milk-

[1] H. H. Johnston, Uganda Protectorate, Vol. II, p. 812.
[2] S. L. Hinde, The Last of the Masai, pp. 83–84.

giving. Here the Masai cow, as is so often the case among the domestic cattle of Africa, is capricious, and, from a European point of view, very tiresome. She will withhold her milk invariably if the calf is not present to her sight or sense of smell; yet her senses are easily deceived, inasmuch as she will often yield milk when a stuffed calf is held before her even if it be little more than the skin of the dead calf roughly filled out with straw. The milking of the cows is usually done by the women twice a day, and generally in a special building erected in the village — a building in which the young calves are kept at night. In the warriors' villages, however, milking is sometimes done by the boys who herd the cattle; and all Masai men are adepts at milking both cows and goats, for which reason they are much in request as herdsmen in the employ of Europeans. . . .

"A barren cow is not an infrequent occurrence in the Masai herds, and such animals are selected for fattening and slaughter, as their meat is considered to be better eating than that of the bullocks. The milk is generally kept in long, bottle-shaped gourds with leather covers. Milk is always drunk fresh, and the gourds that contain it are carefully cleaned with burning grass or with a slight acrid liquid made from the leaves of a sage-plant. These methods of cleaning the gourd sometimes impart a flavor to the milk not altogether agreeable to the European palate. The cattle are always branded with some mark peculiar to the owner, who may also cut their ears in some special way so that the beast may be easily recognized as his own property. After coming back from the pasture the cattle are carefully examined, generally in close contact with a large smoky fire, so that the ticks may be removed from their bodies. The cattle are perfectly amenable to small boys, who usually act as cowherds." [1] However, despite this docility, the herds of Masai cattle are "well able to protect themselves in daylight on the open plains, and a young lion, leopard, or hyena has small chance of escape if he approaches a herd too closely. The whole herd will charge together, leaving nothing in their rear but a shapeless pulp to represent their overbold enemy." [2]

Food. The food of the pastoral Masai varies according to the sex and status of the individual. Women and old men obtain by barter

[1] H. H. Johnston, Uganda Protectorate, Vol. II, pp. 812–814.
[2] C. Eliot, The East African Protectorate, pp. 76–77.

flour and perhaps beans and green stuff. The young warriors subsist on nothing but milk, blood, and meat. The blood they obtain by regularly bleeding their cattle. The oxen are bled in the following manner: A leather ligature is tied tightly around the throat. Below this bandage an arrow is shot in by a warrior, and the shaft is generally blocked so that the arrowhead cannot penetrate far beyond the vein. The arrow is pulled out, and the blood gushes forth. When enough blood has been collected in vessels, the ligature is removed and the orifice of the vein is stopped up by a paste of cow-dung and dust. The frothing blood is greedily drunk, and is the only way in which the Masai warrior obtains the salt necessary to his well-being. Cow's blood is often thought to be (and no doubt is) a cure for dysentery. Masai warriors may eat the flesh of oxen, sheep, goats, or eland. This meat is usually boiled in an earthenware pot, and sometimes medicine derived from herbs is mixed with it. The Masai women and old married men eat pretty much what they like, and are allowed to smoke tobacco; but during pregnancy the women rarely touch meat, consuming at that time enormous quantities of butter and milk. They also, when in this condition, eat fat, and believe that these oily substances will lubricate the passages and make delivery easier. Honey is eaten by everyone who can get it. By mixing a little water with the honey an intoxicating mead is made, which is much drunk by the old men.

"The foregoing remarks about food apply mainly to the pastoral Masai; the agricultural section does not hold quite so rigidly to its special observances for the food of the young men as distinguished from that of the elders or the women; and as these people are industrious agriculturists and rear large crops of grain, pumpkins, and beans, their diet is largely of vegetable substances, though they are as fond of meat as their pastoral kinsmen and enemies." [1]

Weapons. "The weapons of the Masai consist of spears and shields, bows and arrows, knobkerries, and swords from a foot to eighteen inches long. The swords, which are of a peculiar shape, like long and slender leaves — very narrow towards the hilt or handle and at their broadest close to the tip — are called 'sime,' and are of widespread use throughout North-Eastern Africa, where the tribes are of the same stock or have come under the influence of the Nilotic

[1] H. H. Johnston, Uganda Protectorate, Vol. II, pp. 818–819.

and Masai peoples. The spear varies in shape and size. There is a very short, broad-bladed type, which is generally carried by the youths. The warriors among the Masai in the Rift Valley and elsewhere in the Uganda Protectorate and the adjoining parts of British East Africa carry a spear with an extremely long and narrow blade. The head may be fully three feet long. When it is not carried for use, the tip of the blade is generally provided with a small cap ornamented with a tuft of black feathers. The sword is worn usually girt over the right thigh in a scabbard of leather. The knobkerry is generally twisted in the same leather belt worn round the abdomen. Bows and arrows are more in use by the agricultural Masai; amongst the pastoral people they are relegated to the boys, who use a smaller bow and arrow for shooting birds. The Masai shield is very nearly an oval. It is made of ox hide or the skin of the buffalo. A piece of wood like the hooping of a cask, about an inch wide, is sewn very tightly round the edge of the oval piece of leather, while down the centre of the inside of the shield runs a broad lath of wood. This in the middle is detached from the concave surface, leaving a hollow between, through which the hand of the warrior can be passed. Nearly all Masai shields are painted; perhaps in the case of some of the agricultural Masai the leather surface is left uncovered with colour. The colours used in painting these shields are red and white (made from ferruginous clay and kaolin), and black (charcoal), and sometimes blue or yellowish brown, the source of these pigments being unknown to me. The designs on the shields are most varied, and each clan or tribal division has its own." [1]

Houses and villages. "The dwellings of the Masai are of two very distinct kinds. The agricultural Masai who are still to be found about Elgon and the south end of Baringo (there are other relics of them in East Africa, at Tavetia, etc.), build houses very like those of their Bantu neighbours — round huts made with walls of reeds or sticks, surmounted by a conical, grass-thatched roof. The cattle-keeping Masai, on the contrary, build dwellings of quite peculiar construction, unlike those of any other Negro tribe. These are low, continuous houses (not more than six feet in height), which may go round or nearly round the enclosure of the settlement. They are flat-roofed, and are built of framework of stocks with strong par-

[1] H. H. Johnston, Uganda Protectorate, Vol. II, pp. 819–821.

titions dividing the continuous structure into separate compartments which are separate dwellings, each furnished with a low, oblong door. A good deal of brushwood is worked into the sides and roofs of these rows of houses to make a foundation which will retain the plaster of mud and cow-dung which is next applied. The mud and cow-dung is thickly laid on the flat roofs, and is not usually permeated by the rain. In the villages of the agricultural Masai there are, in addition to the houses, numerous granaries holding supplies of corn and beans. The walls of these granaries are plastered with mud and cow-dung.

MASAI HUTS

Courtesy of the Field Museum of Natural History

The villages of both sections of the Masai are surrounded by fences. In the case of the agricultural Masai these are strong palisades with openings at intervals that are carefully guarded by doors made of huge hewn planks. With the pastoral Masai the hedge surrounding the settlement is of thorn bushes, and is merely arranged so as to keep off wild beasts, the pastoral Masai not having hitherto had occasion to fear the attacks of their fellow-men. Inside the villages there are one or more cattle kraals surrounded by independent hedges of thorns or sticks, and their enclosures are fenced in for sheep and goats. Inside the continuous houses of the pastoral Masai beds are made of brushwood neatly staked and covered with skins. The fireplace is simply a circle of stones. At night skins are hung over the doorway (all the doorways in the houses of the pastoral

Masai are on the inner side of the circle made by the continuous houses) in order to keep out the cold night air. The only furniture in the huts besides cooking-pots and skins are long gourds used as milk vessels, half gourds which are cups, and small three-legged stools cut out of a single block of hard wood and used by the elder men to sit on.

"The agricultural Masai live in their villages permanently. The pastoral Masai are inclined towards a semi-nomad existence, no doubt with the intention of seeking fresh pasture for their cattle. They generally, however, range within certain prescribed districts. They will often abandon a settlement for a time, and have no objection to other persons using it in their absence, providing they are ready to evacuate it without having done any harm on the return of the original owners. Formerly the warriors among the pastoral Masai, from the time they reached the age of puberty until they retired from the warrior existence and became married men, lived in villages by themselves with their mothers and sweethearts. The mothers kept house for them, and the young unmarried women attended to very little else but pleasure, though they superintended the young calves which were left behind in the settlement when the cattle were driven out every morning to pasture. A few boys would hang about these warrior villages, their presence being tolerated for their usefulness in herding cattle and milking cows and goats. With the general break-up of the Masai system of pastoral life which has come about through the repeated cattle plagues and the European administration of their country, they are rapidly beginning to live more after the normal negro fashion, in villages inhabited alike by married and unmarried men, girls and married women. Every village elects a head-man, who settles all disputes and acts as leader of the warriors in case of any fighting." [1]

Industries. The Masai have few industries, but of these the most important is the smelting and forging of iron. This metal, in the form of sand or gravel, is found in the river beds, though it is sometimes dug for in the alluvial deposits of old watercourses. "The sand is picked and cleaned by the women until it is fairly pure, when it is mixed with a certain amount of clay. It is then spread on a skin on the floor of the furnace, and juniper logs (the only fuel used in the

[1] H. H. Johnston, Uganda Protectorate, Vol. II, pp. 808, 810.

process), are placed over the pile of clay. A number of men, varying from ten to fifty according to the size of the furnace, keep up an incessant blast, with bellows, for four days, while other men replenish the fire with fuel, throwing the logs in at the top. The blast is kept constant the whole time by relays of blowers.

"The furnace itself is made of clay, and is usually from ten to twelve feet in diameter. It is circular in shape, and open at the top, the walls being from four to five feet high, and inclining slightly inward at the apex. Apertures, about a foot apart, are left close to the ground, through which the nozzles of the bellows conduct the air into the furnace.

"After the four days' blast, two days are allowed for the fire to burn out and the furnace to cool. On the third day the men entitled to metal draw it to the openings of the furnace with long iron tongs. These tongs are made of one piece of iron, bent in the middle, with a couple of rings passed over the bend to prevent them from opening wider than is required. Before the metal is taken out of the furnace, a cow is killed close by, and a small quantity of fat is taken from the dewlap and thrown onto the ashes. As soon as the warm ashes have absorbed this fat, a mixture of milk and water is poured into the furnace, and all the workers feast on the cow. Until this ceremony has been completed the iron is not removed. No other process is employed with this pig-iron before it is hammered out for use in the shape of ornaments or weapons. The Elgunoni do not employ any form of casting. A piece of iron is placed with iron tongs similar to those used in the furnaces, on a particular kind of hard, but not too brittle, stone: this is broken into the required size, and then heated in a charcoal fire blown by bellows. The iron is hammered into shape on the stone by an oval, handleless iron hammer sized according to the special use it is required for. A tool resembling a cold chisel is also used. The wood of which the bellows are made is of an exceedingly hard nature. A suitable piece of the butt of a tree is hollowed out, to the inside of which a goat's skin is fastened about halfway down, the rest of the skin being drawn out towards the top. A nozzle is fixed to the lower part of the timber drum, communicating with the interior, and from this nozzle a wet clay pipe carries the air to the fire. In the centre of the upper part of the goat's skin a small hole is left, and the bellows are blown by alternately raising

and pressing the skin inside the drum. When raising the skin the hole is left open, but when depressing it the hole is closed with the worker's thumb. The whole process in iron work lasts from one to three months, and the same furnace is repaired when required for use the following year.

"Earthenware is only used by the Masai in the shape of cooking-pots. The clay employed for their making is found in certain river beds and is of a bright red colour: this is pounded with stones, and mixed with water, until the paste has been worked to an adequately fine grain and consistency, when it is modelled by hand, with the help of a gourd split in half. In rare instances potters can throw it without the gourd. When the vessels are sufficiently dry, a small fire of grass and twigs is made, and the pots, filled with green grass, are placed in a circle round the central fire. Another fire of grass and twigs, completely covering the pots, is kept burning for twenty-four hours, care being taken that excessive heat is not developed. On removal from the fire the pots are left for a day exposed to the atmosphere, after which they are greased, both inside and outside, with animal fat and allowed to soak: they are then ready for use. The cooking utensils vary from eight to twenty inches in height, and from four to twelve inches in diameter. Occasionally small handles are attached to the edges near the top: these are, however, only large enough to allow the passing of a piece of cord through them to facilitate carrying. Large pots are not placed over the fire when in use: during cooking operations one side is exposed to the fire, and the pot is constantly turned." [1]

Marriage and position of women. "The condition of women among the Masai offers another curious analogy to the Zulus. It is a condition which is not by any means peculiar to the Masai, as was thought by early travellers, but is frequently met with in other negro races showing no near kinship to this people. The Masai warrior is not allowed by the elders of his tribe to marry until he has reached about thirty years of age, and has accumulated a fair amount of property, or else has so distinguished himself by his bravery as to merit an early retirement. But from the time of his reaching puberty till the date at which he is able to marry he is by no means willing to live without the solace of female companionship. The young warrior,

[1] S. L. Hinde, The Last of the Masai, pp. 86–88.

soon after attaining manhood (when the hair of his head, from having been previously close shaven, is now allowed to grow until it can be trained into pigtails), goes round the villages of the married people and selects one or two little girls of from eight to thirteen years old. To the mothers of the chosen damsels he makes numerous small presents, but does not give cattle or sheep, these being reserved for the marriage gift. The mother raises little or no objection to his proposition if the girls like him, and he then carries off one, two, or it may be three, to the warriors' village or settlement." [1] When a girl is nearing womanhood, she leaves the warrior and goes back to her mother. If by chance a girl remains with the man and bears him a child, he may have to support it and may decide eventually to marry the girl.

"The young girls who live in the warriors' settlements have as agreeable a time of it as can be provided in Masai society. They are supplied with food; the mothers of the young men do all the cooking, and the girls themselves spend their time in dancing, singing, adorning themselves, and making love.

"After a woman is married — that is to say, is regularly bought by her husband — she is supposed to remain faithful to him, though it is not at all infrequent that a Masai may sanction her going with any man, especially if he be a friend or a guest. If unfaithful without permission, she might in old times have been clubbed to death, but as a general rule a breach of the marriage covenant is atoned for by a payment on the part of the adulterer. One way and another, by custom and by disposition, it must, I think, be stated that the Masai women are very immoral.

"Marriage is simply the selection of a likely girl by a retiring warrior, and the handing over to her father of a number of cows, bullocks, goats, sheep, and small additional gifts of honey, goat skins, and perhaps iron wire. After a girl is married she may not return to her father's village unless accompanied by her husband." [2]

"As young married women their sole duties consist in tending their children and cooking the food for their household. This life continues until they are past the age of child-bearing. It is then that their term of hardship begins, for all work of a strenuous nature is relegated to the old women. They collect the firewood, build the villages (together with the bomas that surround them), and, in

[1] H. H. Johnston, Uganda Protectorate, Vol. II, pp. 823–824. [2] Ibid. pp. 824–825.

common with the donkeys, carry the loads where a village is being moved. Their capacity for work is extraordinary, and they carry sixty-pound weights with ease. The night guards in the manyattas are also kept by them. They are fed and paid for their work, and a woman's children invariably contribute what is necessary in the way of food and accommodation, but nothing more. In spite of this she works until she is quite decrepit: as long as she can crawl about she continues her labours, and death is the only release she can hope for. These old women are usually of emaciated and inordinately ugly appearance, and, as a result of their badly-nourished condition, ulcers and other affections of this description are prevalent among them. Yet, notwithstanding the toil and privation to which they are subjected, they are almost invariably lively and good-tempered, and, incredible as it seems, appear to enjoy existence. They in no way resent being compelled to work, and, since they are not actively ill treated, they go on contentedly to the end." [1]

Self-gratification. Dancing among the Masai does not differ markedly from this exercise and ritual in other tribes of Central Africa. There is the war dance of the warriors when returning from a successful expedition. This is, of course, a mimic warfare, sometimes most amusing and interesting to the spectator. The men will at times become so excited that the sham fight threatens to degenerate into an angry scuffle. There are dances of a somewhat indelicate nature which precede the circumcision ceremonies of boys and girls, and dances which accompany the formal naming of a child. Barren women, or women who have not succeeded in having children, paint their faces with pipe clay in the most hideous fashion till they look like skulls, arm themselves with long sticks, and dance before a medicine man, or a big chief reputed to be a medicine man, in order that his remedies may result in the longed-for child. These dances are almost invariably accompanied by songs, and, in fact, one word in the Masai language — *os-singoloi* — means "song-dance."

"As regards music, they have no musical instruments except drums. They are very fond of singing, and the voices of the men occasionally are a high and agreeable tenor; but more often, like most Africans, the men sing in a disagreeable falsetto. The women's voices, though powerful, are extremely shrill — shriller than the

[1] S. L. Hinde, The Last of the Masai, pp. 67–68.

highest soprano that ever made me shudder in a European opera-house. It struck me that the Masai women had extraordinary range of compass. They were able to produce very deep contralto notes as easily as an upper C. Singing usually means a chosen songster or songstress, yelling a solo at the top of his or her voice, and being accompanied by a chorus of men or maidens, women and men often singing together. The chorus does not usually sing the same air as the soloist, but an antistrophe." [1]

Body decorations. "All the hair of the face and body is plucked out in both sexes by means of iron tweezers, so that no male Masai is ever seen with beard and moustache. The hair of the head is shaved by the women, and by the married men who have ceased to be warriors. It is even removed in the same way from the heads of children; but when a Masai youth has reached puberty, and is about to become a warrior, he allows the hair of his head to grow as long as it will. Tugging at the wool, and straightening it as far as he is able, he plaits into it twisted bast or thin strips of leather. In this way the hair, with its artificial accompaniments, is plaited into a number of wisps, and these, coated with red clay and mutton fat, are gathered into pigtails, or queues, the largest of which hangs down over the back, while another droops over the forehead, and there may be one over each ear. The ends of these queues are tightly bound round with string, which, like all the rest of the coiffure, is thickly coated with grease and ochre. The whole of the body in the young warriors is constantly anointed with the same proportion of reddish clay and fat, with the result that they have quite a raddled appearance, and look like statues in terra-cotta; for everything about them may be coated with this preparation of a uniform yellowish red. . . .

"The Masai men do not mar or decorate their skins with patterns in scars or in tattooing; but I have noticed on the faces of the women in the Naivasha District that parallel lines are apparently burnt on the skin around the eyes or on the forehead. I could not ascertain whether this was done with a red-hot wire or by some acrid juice. The scars had a bluish look, and were intended to enhance the brilliancy of the eye. The women ordinarily remove the eyelashes and the hair from the eyebrows. In both sexes the ears are terribly deformed by piercing the lobe at an early age and insert-

[1] H. H. Johnston, Uganda Protectorate, Vol. II, pp. 833–834.

ing through the hole larger and larger discs or rounded pieces of wood. These are gradually increased in size until the lobe becomes a great loop of leathery skin. To this loop they attach ear-rings of fine iron chain or European nails and screws, or depending coils of iron wire like catherine-wheels. The ear is also pierced in the upper part of the conch, near what is called 'Darwin's point.' From this hole also may depend loops of fine iron chain or strings of beads. The men

TWO VIEWS OF A MASAI WOMAN, SHOWING EAR ORNAMENTS AND THE METHOD OF COMBING THE HAIR

Courtesy of the Philadelphia Commercial Museum

may wear bead necklaces and bead armlets. On the upper part of the left arm, just below the deltoid muscle, is a tight armlet of wood, which grips the flesh, and is furnished with two upright projections. A string of charms, which may be pieces of smooth stone or of hard, smooth wood, of irregular size, is generally worn round the neck by the men, who may also have a girdle round the waist composed of a string of beads with fine iron chains. Bracelets of iron wire or of ivory may also be worn by the men on the wrists.

"As regards clothing, the two sexes differ considerably. Women from girlhood to old age are usually clothed most scrupulously,

though it is not considered improper to expose the bosom. Their garments were formerly dressed hides which hung from the neck down to the knees, with a kind of leather petticoat underneath. Nowadays many of the women dispense with leather and wear voluminous pieces of calico from the coast. Old men generally wear a skin or a cloth cape over the shoulders. Hitherto men, old and young, of the Masai tribe have been absolutely indifferent as to whether such covering as they wore answered purposes of decency. They might even be styled ostentatiously naked in this respect, though I have never known them to be guilty of any gesture of deliberate indelicacy. Young warriors going to battle swathe round their waists as many yards of red calico as they can get hold of, and will further throw pieces of calico over their shoulders as capes. They also wear huge mantles of birds' feathers, in shape and volume like the fur capes worn by coachmen in cold weather. A great circle of ostrich plumes is often worn round the face. When decorated for warfare, they tie fringes of long white hair tightly below the knee, generally on one leg—the left. This white hair is either derived from goats or from the skin of the colobus monkey. Some of the eastern Masai make handsome capes of the black and white colobus fur, which are worn over the chest. Unmarried girls may wear a few bracelets, but as soon as a young Masai woman, or 'dito,' is about to marry, she has coils of thick iron wire wound round her legs. She will also wear armlets and bracelets of this same wire, and perhaps an additional armlet or two of ivory. Huge coils of the same thick

A MASAI WOMAN WEARING NUMEROUS BRASS RINGS ON THE ARMS, AROUND THE NECK, AND HANGING FROM THE LOBES OF THE EARS

Courtesy of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University

iron wire may be worn round the neck in addition to the 'catherine-wheel' ornaments and uncounted strings of beads. Or she may have round her neck a great fringe of leather thongs, to which are fastened large beads." [1]

Religion. The religious ideas of the Masai are vague, and very little has been developed in the way of a cultus or mythology. There is a sky god who is invoked when rain is needed for the crops.

"The Masai, agricultural and pastoral, deal with their dead in a very summary manner. Unless the dead person is a male and a chief, the corpse is simply carried to a short distance from the village, and left on the ground to be devoured by hyenas, jackals, and vultures. The constant presence of hyenas and the small *Neophron* and *Necrosyrtes*, and the large *Otogyps* vultures round the Masai kraals is encouraged by this practice, and the Masai never actively interfere with these scavengers, unless a hyena should attempt — as they sometimes do — to enter a village and carry off live-stock or children. Important chiefs, however, are buried, and a year after the burial the eldest son or the appointed successor of the chief carefully removes the skull of the deceased, making at the same time a sacrifice and a libation with the blood of a goat, some milk, and some honey. The skull is then carefully secreted by the son, whose possession of it is understood to confirm him in power, and to impart to him some of the wisdom of his predecessor. In several parts of the Rift Valley cairns of stones meet the eye. They mark the burial places of dead chiefs, though there is probably no supreme chief of the Masai race buried in that direction. . . .

"The Masai do not believe in a future life for women or common people. Only chiefs and influential head-men possess any life beyond the grave. It is thought that some of their more notable ancestors return to earth in the shape of snakes — either pythons or cobras. The tribal snakes of the Masai must be black because they themselves are dark skinned. They believe that white snakes look after the welfare of Europeans. These snakes certainly live in a half-tamed state in the vicinity of large Masai villages, generally in holes or crevices. They are supposed never to bite a member of the clan which they protect; but they are ready to kill the enemies of that clan and their cattle. When a Masai marries, his wife has to be introduced to the

[1] H. H. Johnston, Uganda Protectorate, Vol. II, pp. 803–808.

tutelary snake of the clan and rigorously ordered to recognize it and never to harm it. Even the children are taught to respect these reptiles. These snakes sometimes take up their abode near water-holes, which, it is supposed, they will defend against unlawful use on the part of strangers. The fetish snake is often consulted by people in perplexity, though what replies it is able to give must be left to the imagination. The snakes are, however, really regarded with implicit belief as being the form in which renowned ancestors have returned to this mundane existence. . . .

"Another superstitious custom to which the Masai formerly attached much importance was the act of spitting. In marked contradistinction to the prejudice against expectoration as a polite custom in European societies, not only amongst the Masai, but in the allied Nandi and Suk peoples, to spit at a person is a very great compliment. The earlier travellers in Masailand were astonished, when making friendship with old Masai chiefs and head-men, to be constantly spat at. When I entered the Uganda Protectorate and met the Masai of the Rift Valley for the first time, every man, before extending his hand to me, would spit on the palm. When they came into my temporary house at Naivasha Fort they would spit to the north, east, south, and west before entering the house. Every unknown object which they regard with reverence, such as a passing train, is spat at. Newly born children are spat on by every one who sees them. They are, of course, being laughed out of the custom now by the Swahilis and Indian coolies and the Europeans: and it must be admitted that, however charming a race the Masai are in many respects, they will lose none of their inherent charm by abandoning a practice which, except in parts of America and Southern Europe, is very justly regarded with disgust." [1]

Name. "A dead man is never referred to by name, if possible. It is considered so unlucky to do this that the action is equivalent to an intentional desire to bring harm on the relatives of the deceased. If any reference must be made to a dead person, it is generally by means of a roundabout description, or by such terms as 'my brother,' 'my father,' 'my uncle,' 'my sister.' Husbands and wives may with less disastrous consequences refer to their dead partners by name, though even this is done in a whisper and with reluctance. Amongst the

[1] H. H. Johnston, Uganda Protectorate, Vol. II, pp. 827–828, 832, 833.

living there is a very intricate ceremony on the subject of addressing by name, and a Masai of good manners would feel quite at home in the British House of Commons, where much the same prejudice prevails. If you wish to get at the real name borne by a Masai man, it is advisable to ask one of his friends standing by, who, in reply, will probably give you the name of the man's mother, if he be an eldest son and unmarried, for in such case it must be identical with the man's own name. It is not considered unlucky if a person in speaking to you mentions your name in your presence; it is the employment of the name in direct address which is thought to bring ill luck. Any one who is asked abruptly for his name probably gives that of his father, which may, of course, also be his. A child would never address his father or mother by name, but would call them 'father' or 'mother.' A married man would also not call to his father- and mother-in-law by their names, but would address them by an honorific title; a woman would simply call her husband's parents 'father' and 'mother.' Boys may address other boys and young girls by their names; but they must speak to all the warriors as 'El Mórran,' married or old women as 'Koko,' and old married men as 'Baba.' Women generally address old or married men of any importance as 'Ol Baiyan' ('Elder'). A married man would probably call out to a woman, not by name, but address her as 'Eñ gitok' ('Woman'). If a Masai bears the same name as a member of his tribe who dies, he may change his own name to avoid ill luck." [1]

Regulative organization. Usually the chief ruler of the Masai is a powerful medicine man. He is credited with second sight, which he can invoke at will and transmit to his heirs through the agency of a certain medicine, the ingredients of which are known only to the royal family.

"Once or twice during each year the reigning chief invokes this power, and usually remains under its influence for several days together, the taking of the medicine being invariably followed by a drinking bout. On recovering from the effects of this, he makes known to his followers the intimation regarding the future revealed to him during the influence of the royal medicine.

"Before a raid is undertaken the power is invoked, and the prophet then directs his warriors where and how to attack, and in what places

[1] H. H. Johnston, Uganda Protectorate, Vol. II, pp. 826–827.

the cattle are to be found. By some extraordinary means — possibly not unconnected with the secret service system, which is carried to great perfection among the Masai — these predictions are almost invariably correct. . . .

"In each village a man is selected as chief (legooran), whose function it is to settle all difficulties and disputes, and to lead his followers into battle. This chief may be an elder, though more frequently he is a senior warrior of greater experience than his associates." [1]

As has been mentioned before, the chief occupations of the Masai are cattle-raising and fighting. The latter is engaged in by most of the young men.

"In former days, before the Masai warriors, called 'El Mórran,' started on an expedition, they would fortify their courage with a war medicine, which was said to be the bark of *Acacia verrugosa*. This bark, when chewed, would make them either frantic or stupefied, thus lulling any apprehensions. Once on the war-path, however, they were invariably brave, as public opinion would probably visit any sign of cowardice with execution. The Masai warriors would travel as much as fifty miles a day at a constant trot. In old days they thought nothing of going 300 miles — even 500 miles — to attack a people or a district which was supposed to be rich in cattle. They would sometimes travel at night as well as in the daytime, but their favourite time of attack was just at dawn. In the first ardour of battle they would slay every man and boy with their huge spears, but women were very rarely killed. It is stated that the Masai have generally been in the habit of warning their enemies before making an attack on them, but I certainly remember myself in 1884 having reported to me a great many instances of the Masai round Kilimanjaro taking or attempting to take Bantu villages wholly by surprise. No doubt in the case of tributary people a warning would be sent first that the overdue tributes must be paid up, and in the event of this notice remaining unheeded the warriors would descend on the rebellious vassal." [2]

[1] S. L. Hinde, The Last of the Masai, pp. 23–24, 58.
[2] H. H. Johnston, Uganda Protectorate, Vol. II, p. 822.

AUSTRALASIAN BLACKS

CHAPTER VIII

AUSTRALIANS

Environment. Australia is a small continent with an area of about 3,000,000 square miles. Its greatest length is 2400 miles from east to west, and its greatest breadth 1971 miles from north to south. The coast line is comparatively regular, being only 8850 miles in length. The land mass rises to a mean height much less than that of any other continent.

The contour of Australia may be described as follows: On the east a low, fertile coastal plain which rises sharply to a mountain range about 40 miles from the sea. West of these mountains are the great plains, covering an area of about 500,000 square miles. These plains gradually rise to low steppes from 500 to 1000 feet above the sea. A further rise through the high steppes leads to the mountains of the west coast, and beyond these is a low coastal plain.

The rivers of Australia are of little use for navigation; for though they have much water during the wet season, there is almost none during the rest of the year. Those along the east coast have short, rapid courses. The two most important rivers of Australia, the Murray and the Darling, flow into Encounter Bay, South Australia. The discharge of the Darling does not amount to more than 10 per cent of the rainfall on its drainage area; about 90 per cent evaporates and sinks into the soil.

Climate. "The Australian continent, extending over 28 degrees of latitude, might be expected to show a considerable diversity of climate. In reality, however, it experiences fewer climatic variations than the other great continents, owing to its distance (28 degrees) from the Antarctic circle and (11 degrees) from the equator. There is, besides, a powerful determining cause in the uniform character and undivided extent of its dry interior. The plains and steppes

already described lie either within or close to the tropics. They present to the fierce play of the sun almost a level surface, so that during the day that surface becomes intensely heated and at night gives off its heat by radiation. Ordinarily the alternate expansion and contraction of the atmosphere, which takes place under such circumstances, would draw in a supply of moisture from the ocean, but the heated interior, covering some 900,000 square miles, is so immense, that the moist air from the ocean does not come in sufficient supply, nor are there mountain chains to intercept the clouds which from time to time are formed; so that two-fifths of Australia, comprising a region stretching from the Australian Bight to 20 degrees S. and from 117 degrees to 142 degrees E., receives less than an average of 10 inches of rain throughout the year, and a considerable portion of this region has less than 5 inches." [1]

The prevailing winds of Australia are the southeast trades, which, because of the mountain range, deposit most of their moisture on the east coast. By the time they reach the central and western part of the country they are devoid of all moisture. Hence as one moves inland from the eastern range of mountains the land becomes more and more arid, the grass thins away into isolated tufts, and, finally, barren rocks appear, or the land becomes impregnated with salt.

The northern portion of Australia is watered by the monsoons, and for that reason is much more fertile than the western or southern parts of the country. This region, lying as it does entirely within the tropics, has a very slight range of temperature for the year. In the south of Australia the cold months of June, July, and August have an average temperature of 58° F. with almost no snow and very little ice. The summer months are very dry, the thermometer frequently standing at 100 degrees in the shade.

History. "The origin of the natives of Australia presents a difficult problem. The chief difficulty in deciding their ethnical relations is their remarkable physical difference from the neighboring peoples. And if one turns from physical criteria to their manners and customs it is only to find fresh evidence of their isolation. While their neighbors, the Malays, Papuans and Polynesians, all cultivate the soil, and build substantial huts and houses, the Australian natives do neither. Pottery, common to Malays and Papuans, the bows and

[1] C. Arnold, in Encyclopædia Britannica under "Australia."

arrows of the latter, and the elaborate canoes of all three races, are unknown to the Australians. They then must be considered as representing an extremely primitive type of mankind, and it is necessary to look far afield for their prehistoric home.

"Wherever they came from, there is abundant evidence that their first occupation of the Australian continent must have been at a time so remote as to permit of no traditions. No record, no folk tales, as in the case of the Maoris of New Zealand, of their migration, are preserved by the Australians. True, there are legends and tales of tribal migrations and early tribal history, but nothing, as A. W. Howitt points out, which can be twisted into referring even indirectly to their first arrival. It is almost incredible that there should be none, if the date of their arrival is to be reckoned as only dating back some centuries. Again, while they differ physically from neighboring races, while there is practically nothing in common between them and the Malays, the Polynesians, or the Papuan Melanesians, they agree in type so closely among themselves that they must be regarded as forming one race. Yet it is noteworthy that the languages of their several tribes are different. The occurrence of a large number of common roots proves them to be derived from one source, but the great variety of dialects — sometimes unintelligible between tribes separated by only a few miles — cannot be explained except by supposing a vast period to have elapsed since their first settlement. There is evidence in the language, too, which supports the physical separation from their New Zealand neighbors and, therefore, from the Polynesian family of races. The numerals in use were limited. In some tribes there were only three in use, in most four. For the number 'five' a word meaning 'many' was employed. This linguistic poverty proves that the Australian tongue has no affinity to the Polynesian group of languages, where denary enumeration prevails: the nearest Polynesians, the Maoris, counting in thousands. Further evidence of the antiquity of Australian man is to be found in the strict observance of tribal boundaries, which would seem to show that the tribes must have been settled a long time in one place." [1]

Physique. The people of Australia belong to the black race. Those living in the north are physically and intellectually better developed than those in the southeast and west. This is due largely to the

[1] C. Arnold, in Encyclopædia Britannica under "Australia."

character of the country in which the northern tribes are living, for they are better able to pursue the struggle for existence because of the more favorable climatic conditions, and are thus able to build up a better physique. The Australians of the south and central portion are of medium stature, but very lean, owing to bad nutrition. We see in them certain Malay characteristics, in the wavy rather than woolly hair and the prominent cheek bones; the characteristics of the Negro in the prominent eyebrows, the flat nose, the thick lips,

NATIVE MEN, SHOWING SCARS

Photographs from Tost and Rohu, Sydney, Australia

the prognathous jaw, and the dolichocephalic skull. A particular characteristic of the Australians is the ridge of the nose, which is so deeply depressed that a line drawn from one eye to the other makes only a very slight curve across the ridge. They have a large amount of hair on the head and on the body, and also a very full beard. The hair is so important a race characteristic that the taunt applied to European people has been "You naked cheeks." A beardless Australian is an isolated pathological accident.

Self-maintenance. We cannot understand the life and the civilization of the Australians apart from their nomadism, to which all

the natural conditions of the land contribute. At the bottom of it lies the deficiency of the water and the unequal distribution of the plant and animal food supplies. The dry season, which is often of long duration, causes much of the country to be uninhabitable, so that the people are obliged to move into some more favorable quarter in order to secure the barest subsistence. Vegetable matter is often to be sought at great distances, and the animals avoid the dry regions almost as much as do the men. Thus it is that, the food supply being the determining factor in the life of the Australians, because of its scarcity they are obliged to move from place to place.

The people prefer an animal diet, but for much of the year they are forced to content themselves with a vegetable one. Their food consists of fish, snakes, lizards, grubs of the beetle, birds' eggs, roots, bulbs, and other vegetable matter, but the supply of these varies in different parts of the country. Of the larger animals the kangaroo and the emu are preferred. Australians never under any conditions engage in agriculture or even cultivate the soil to the slightest degree.

The weapons used in hunting are the boomerang, the hurling-stick, and the spear; in war the shield and the ax are added. The boomerang is a plaything rather than a genuine weapon, though it is reported that flying birds and small animals have been brought down with it at two hundred paces. Its peculiarity consists in its shape and especially in the construction of its surfaces, which cause it to "scale," when thrown by an expert, through a characteristic course back to the point of departure. Because of this tendency to return to and perhaps hit the thrower, the boomerang has furnished a figure of speech to the language of civilized people.

The kangaroo is sometimes captured with the aid of the small native dog, but commonly nets are used into which the animal is driven. An Australian will often stalk a kangaroo alone. Starting on its recent tracks, he follows them until he comes in sight of his prey; then, using no concealment, he boldly heads for it, and when it takes to flight he follows patiently after. This is repeated again and again until nightfall, when the black lights a fire and sleeps on the trail. On the next day the chase recommences, and lasts until human pertinacity has overcome animal endurance, and the quarry falls a victim to its pursuer.

Before the animal is cooked, the tail sinews are drawn out, to be used in sewing cloaks or lashing spears. The chief method of cooking the kangaroo is to dig an oven in the sand, heat it thoroughly by means of hot stones, and place the animal in it, skin and all. A slow fire is kept up all the time. When the animal is cooked, it is taken out, laid on its back, and its intestines are taken out. The body is then cut up, and the portions are divided among the hungry group.

ABORIGINAL STONE FISH WEIRS

Photograph from Tost and Rohu, Sydney, Australia

The preparation of food is of the crudest sort; being entirely without pottery the Australians have only limited facilities in this line. Boiling over a fire is unknown. Birds are generally cooked by throwing them, plucked, on the fire. If the natives wish to be more careful, they cover the bird with a coating of mud beforehand. It is then covered with hot ashes and left until thoroughly cooked. When the mud crust is taken off, the feathers come with it. Although only a small portion of the food is consumed raw, yet much of it is hardly warmed through before it is devoured. Such pots and cups as they have are made of shells, and drinking-vessels are formed from the

ETHNOGRAPHICAL MAP OF AUSTRALASIA AND OCEANICA

skulls of enemies made water-tight with gum. Tortoise shells and skins of animals are used for storing the various articles of food.

The only domesticated animal which the Australians have is the dingo, a small and inferior dog.

Cannibalism. Cannibalism, although not universal among the Australians, is nevertheless practiced to some extent. The motives for this are various. Some tribes go out on expeditions to steal fat people, and it is reported by Ratzel[1] that a man who is the

NATIVE HUTS

Photograph from Tost and Rohu, Sydney, Australia

lucky possessor of a fat wife never allows her to go out alone for fear that she will be captured and eaten by a neighboring tribe. Along the west coast, where the natives have come in contact with the Europeans, cannibalism has practically died out, but even here it sometimes occurs when the food supply is scarce. Among the tribes of Central Australia the bodies of the dead are devoured in order to avoid the necessity of further mourning.

Houses. The people in the south and southeast build no houses, for they do not stay in one place long enough to pay them for putting up permanent structures. In order to make a slight protection

[1] F. Ratzel, The History of Mankind, Vol. I, p. 362.

against the sun, the cold, and the rain, they build rough lean-tos of bark and boughs. This affords a little shelter, but the open side is turned away from the wind so that it protects the fire. In the north, however, they have huts made of interwoven twigs plastered with clay and sod, which are large enough to hold ten people. In some parts of this tropical region there are rather large villages, which indicates a more settled mode of life.

War. The Australians are a very warlike people, although the actual conflicts are not serious. The battles consist for the most part of yells and the hurling of opprobrious epithets. When they have worked themselves up to a sufficiently high pitch of excitement, a spear is discharged. If blood is drawn, the conflict is ended, for the honor of the tribe has been vindicated.

Marriage. The marriage system of the Australians is one of the most complicated found anywhere among the savage (or, indeed, the civilized) peoples of the world. It is based upon exogamy; that is, a man and woman must marry outside their own totem group and into only certain others. The least trace of blood relationship, as they conceive of it, is a bar to marriage, and any couple entering such a union are put to death by their own people. A man is allowed as many wives as he can support; but as a rule, because of the poor condition of the country, a man is satisfied with one or two, although cases have been reported where there were eleven.

"The process of acquiring a bride differs in different tribes. She may be exchanged for a sister, the simplest and perhaps the commonest form; she may be betrothed at, or even, provisionally, before birth, but this is usually part of a process of barter; she may be abducted, either from an already existing, or a prospective husband, or from her relatives; or she may be inherited from a brother or tribal kinsman." [1]

While wife capture does occur, and is the cause of a great many fights, yet it is not the common mode. In the southeast the man obtains the consent of a girl in a neighboring tribe and then elopes with her. They stay away for several days in order to escape, as they say, the pursuit of her tribesmen. In New South Wales, although the consent of the girl may have been obtained, and she is agreeable to the match, yet when the bridegroom and his friends go for her she

[1] N. W. Thomas, Natives of Australia, p. 114.

puts up a noisy and violent resistance and calls her friends to her assistance. But though the fight is a mere sham, a survival of a more serious action, still the girls would hate to give it up, for it is an outward and visible demonstration of their maidenly reluctance and chastity. Frequently wives are purchased, and it is not an uncommon thing for the parents of the boy and girl to arrange a marriage even before the children are able to walk. If a man wishes to marry a girl, he approaches the one who gives her away through an intermediary. The relations come together, bringing with them the girl. A torch-light dance takes place for two nights, and then the marriage is complete. If the bride is still very young the husband rubs her over with fat to make her grow, and then returns her to her parents until she is older.

A married woman is the absolute property of her husband, and she is compelled to do all the hard work, such as building the huts, acting as the transportation agency par excellence, lighting and tending the fires, and collecting the roots and other vegetable foods. She must, in addition, attend to the children, and this is a laborious task, for they are not weaned until they are three or four years old.

Infanticide. Infanticide is very common. A large number of children are put to death almost immediately after birth. This is accomplished either by thrusting a stick through the orifice of the ears into the skull, after which the body is burned, or by throttling and hitting on the head with a club. The causes for infanticide are various. If a child is born before the next older is able to walk, it is put to death. An Australian mother can hardly add two young children to the load she must carry about as the group moves from place to place. All misshapen children are killed, one or both of a pair of twins, at least half the children of white fathers, a large number of female children, and, finally, children of marriages entered into unwillingly. Should the parents decide that a child is to live, however, every possible care is taken that it may grow up to be a strong member of the tribe.

Initiation of the boys. As soon as a boy is old enough to walk, his father takes him on hunting and fishing expeditions and instructs him in all those things which a man should know about the acquisition of the necessities of life. Among the Australians, as among most savage peoples, when a boy reaches the age of puberty the time has

AN INITIATION CEREMONY

The candidates, blindfolded, are being led into the presence of the chief. The markings on the sand are totemic designs. Learning the meaning of these forms a very important part of the ceremonies

arrived for him to leave the company of women, with whom he has been living, and join himself to the men. Before he can do this he must be taught many things, among them the secrets of the tribe or totem, into which he is to enter as a full-fledged member. In many cases the ceremonies are of a dramatic nature, especially in those communities where the totem holds a prominent place. As a rule the rite of circumcision is performed at this time. The ceremonies start when a boy is ten or twelve years old and are often not finished until he has reached the age of twenty-five or thirty. This time is the most important in the life of a youth, for announcement is made to the world that he is no longer a child, but has reached that age when he is fit to enter man's estate and perform the functions of full tribal membership.

ANOTHER VIEW OF THE YOUNG MEN BEING LED TO THE CHIEF

Up to the time of the initiation the youth has had practically no systematic instruction, and so his schooling really begins at the age when most civilized children are well grounded in the so-called fundamentals.

"The knowledge is conveyed to the savage boy in a most effective manner, by means of various elaborate ceremonies of a dramatic nature, performed by members of the different totems and intended to picture events in the life of the mythic ancestral individuals who lived in the ancient time — half-animal creations whose descendants are the present members of the tribe. Thus, performances

CANDIDATES PASSING UNDER AN ARCH OF SPEARS

They are being led over the totemic designs in the sand

THE ARRIVAL OF THE KING AT AN INITIATION CEREMONY

The guards are carrying long spears and boomerangs

which seem on the outside merely imitations of different animals are really part of the instruction of the novice in the sacred lore connected with the totems and the ancestors of the various clans." [1]

Another purpose of these ceremonies is to teach the novice in a most vivid fashion those things which in the future he must avoid. For this reason many of the rites are almost equivalent to a morality play.

"At first sight some of the performances seem to be very immoral, being presented on the principle of *similia similibus curantur*. Those men who guard the boys talk to the boys in an inverted language so that the real meaning is just opposite of what they say. At the end of every sentence the speaker adds 'Yah,' which negatives all that has been said and done. Indeed, the use

PREPARING TO KILL AN ENEMY

Much of the history of the Australians is taught to the boys during the initiation ceremonies. In this one the figure of a man is built of sand to represent some powerful enemy. The men holding the boomerangs will presently bring them down on the figure to illustrate how this chief was killed some time in the past

[1] H. Webster, Primitive Secret Societies, pp. 140–141.

of the word 'Yah' runs through the whole conversation carried on during the ceremonies." [1]

"The lads are told that this is done in order that they may learn to speak the truth. Various offenses against morality are exhibited and the guardians warn the novices of their death or of violence, should they attempt to repeat the actions which they have just witnessed. There are many obscene gestures for the purpose of shocking the young fellows; and if the latter show the least sign of mirth or frivolity, they are hit on the head by an old man who is appointed to watch them." [2]

SPEARING THE WILD BOAR

A large number of these initiation ceremonies are of a religious character closely connected with the food supply. The boys are taught to draw the picture of an animal in the sand and then the method of spearing it. They hope by this means to induce the spirits to allow them to kill the animal in reality when they are out hunting. So important a preliminary to hunting is a ceremony of this sort that they would as soon start out on an expedition without spears or boomerangs as omit a rite of this sort. Hence as the boys are ultimately to become hunters, it is necessary that no details necessary for the successful performance of this function should be omitted from their education

In one ceremony four or five of the old men sit on the ground making mud pies. The guardian of the boys says to them: "Look at that! Look at those old men! When you get back to camp go and do like that, and play with little children—Yah!" [3]

Clothing and body decoration. The clothing of the Australians is very sparse and consists for the most part of a girdle of plaited grass or hair. In some places a cloak of opossum skin or dog skin is worn. Frequently, even in Central and South Australia, the people go entirely naked, despite the severe and changeable character of the climate. What they lack in clothing is made up in paint and tattoo designs. The patterns which are painted on the body are usually connected with the totems, especially when they are inscribed during the

[1] A. W. Howitt, Native Tribes of Central Australia, p. 533.
[2] H. Webster, Primitive Secret Societies, pp. 49 ff.
[3] A. W. Howitt, Native Tribes of Central Australia, p. 534.

initiation ceremonies of the boys; hence they have not only an ornamental but also a religious value. Tattooing consists in the cicatrization or scarring of the skin. Most of the elder men of the tribe are thus marked, and often the ceremony takes place at the time of admission to the class of elders. This very painful operation is performed with pieces of shell or sharp stones. A deep gash is made in the chest or back and the wound filled with dirt or ashes, so that when it heals, a very high scar is left. A girl is not allowed to marry until she has

NATIVE WOMEN, SHOWING SCARS
Photographs from Tost and Rohu, Sydney, Australia

been tattooed; and it is often by the totem marks on her back that a man determines whether she belongs to the class into which by custom he is allowed to marry.

Pleasures. The favorite amusements of the Australians are singing and dancing. The musical instruments which they have are of the crudest sort: two pieces of bamboo struck together, or a rolled-up skin upon which time is beaten. Dancing is always accompanied by songs, which usually have a very melancholy note running through them. It is often difficult to distinguish between their singing and speaking: during great emotion speech passes into song, and the tempo depends upon their degree of passion. They sing frequently,

not only their joy and sorrow but also their hunger and anger. Many of their songs describe experiences in war and in the chase, and the dances which accompany them are the pantomimic representation of the actual events.

"Best known are the gymnastic dances of the Australians, the *corroborries*, which have been described in nearly every account of Australian travel, for they are known over the whole continent. The *corroborries* are always performed at night, and generally by moonlight. We do not, however, consider it necessary, for that reason, to regard them as religious ceremonies. Moonlight nights are chosen probably not because they are holy, but because they are clear. The dancers are usually men, while women form the orchestra. Frequently several tribes join in a great dancing festival; four hundred participants have occasionally been counted in Victoria. The largest and most noteworthy festivals apparently take place on the conclusion of a peace; moreover, all the more important events of Australian life are celebrated by dances — the ripenings of a fruit, the beginning of the oyster dredging, the initiation of the youth, a meeting with a friendly tribe, the march to battle, a successful hunt." [1]

A NATIVE DRESSED FOR A CORROBORRIE

Photograph from Tost and Rohu, Sydney, Australia

Religion. The religion of the Australians is closely connected with the mythical ancestors of the past. They inhabit the sun, moon, stars, animals, trees; in fact, nearly all objects in nature. There are numerous legends concerning these beings which account for the

[1] E. Grosse, The Beginnings of Art, p. 208. By permission of the publishers, D. Appleton and Company, New York.

creation not only of man but also of all other things on the earth. One of the most important elements in the religion of the Australian is the totem. This is a class of natural objects, such as a certain kind of animal or plant, sun or rain, to which the natives think themselves actually akin and in connection with which they feel that there is an intimate and altogether special relation. Men belonging to the kangaroo totem are not allowed to eat that animal, but they are supposed, by certain ceremonies, to keep a supply of it in the country, so that the men of the other totems may have plenty to eat. Under certain circumstances they are allowed to kill their own totem animal, but they must hand it over to other people to be eaten.

Besides the totem a man has an individual guardian spirit; that is, a tutelary deity who looks after him especially, who is either assigned to him by the medicine man or acquired in a dream or in some other way, but is not hereditary.

Magic plays an important part in the Australian religion. It is through its agency that the animals are caused to appear, that rain is made to fall, and that people are placed in the power of those who can wield its influence. The magic of the savage is based upon two fundamental principles; first, that like produces like, or that effect resembles its cause. That is, he feels that in order to produce the phenomena of nature upon which he depends for his very life he has only to imitate them and, by some secret sympathy, the gods will be required to grant his request. The second principle is that things which have once been in contact but have ceased to be so continue to act on each other as if the contact still persisted. He feels that he can influence any person, no matter how great the distance, provided he has some part of the body, such as the nails or the hair, or something with which the person has come into contact.

The strongest magic resides in certain parts of the human body or in the remains of human food. Every black fellow tries to obtain for purposes of magic the bones and the backbones of certain birds and fishes of which some particular person has consumed the flesh. By means of these he thinks that he can acquire power over that man for life and death. In order to adapt the bones to the purpose, they are first scraped, and then a lump of red ochre, fish oil, the eye of a fish, and the flesh from a corpse are stuck upon them, and the whole is laid on the breast of a human corpse. If, now, the party of

the second part annoys the magician, he sticks the bone in the earth near the fire so that the lump slowly melts away. As it melts, it causes the man for whom it was intended, however distant he may be, to fall ill. Human kidney-fat possesses magical power against evil spirits, and it is accordingly extracted from corpses and even from living prisoners.

When the wife of a Central Australian native has eloped from him and he cannot recover her, the disconsolate husband repairs with

AUSTRALIAN NATIVES MAKING FIRE

Photograph from Tost and Rohu, Sydney, Australia

some sympathizing friends to a secluded spot, where a man skilled in magic draws on the ground a rough figure supposed to represent the woman lying on her back. Beside the figure is laid a piece of green bark, which stands for her spirit or soul, and at it the men throw miniature spears which have been made for the purpose and charmed by singing over them. This barken effigy of the woman's spirit, with the little spears sticking in it, is then thrown as far as possible in the direction which she is supposed to have taken. During the whole of the operation the men chant in a low voice, the burden of the song being an invitation to the magic influence to go out and enter her body and dry up all her fat. Sooner or later — often

a good deal later — her fat does dry up, she dies, and her spirit is seen in the sky in the form of a shooting star.[1]

The doctor, or medicine man, is a very important functionary among the Australians, for he it is who has the power of warding off the evil magic influence of some other man. A man becomes a medicine man by having certain stones or other objects put into his body by spirits. Before this takes place he falls into a trance lasting two or three days, and when he wakes up he is supposed to have forgotten all his life before. This office is often hereditary. These men believe more or less in their own powers, perhaps because they believe in those of others. The belief in magic in its various forms — in dreams, omens, and warnings — is so universal, and mingles so intimately with the daily life of the aborigines, that no one, not even those who practice deceit themselves, doubts the power of other medicine men, or that if men fail to effect their magical purposes the failure is due to error in the practice, or to the superior skill or power of some adverse practitioner.[2]

Death and burial. The only death regarded by the Australians as natural is death in battle. Their minds cannot conceive of death as a necessity. Every death that is not brought about by visible violence seems to them the result of magical arts. These are facilitated by allowing the magician to get something which has been taken from the person to be acted upon; and for that reason fragments of food, gnawed bones, and the like, are carefully burned. The first funeral ceremony consists in discovering the enemy who has done the mischief. Among the Port Lincoln tribes the nearest of kin sleeps the first night with his head on the body, in order that in his dreams some indication of the magician may reach him. On the following day the corpse is borne out upon a bier, and now the friends of the deceased call out the names of various persons. At the utterance of some one of these they say that the body gives a start in a particular direction and moves toward the criminal. The Adelaide natives carry the dead on a wheel-shaped bier of branches, one man in the center supporting the body with his head until the inquest has arrived at a conclusion. Relations who do not lament sufficiently at the funeral are easily suspected of complicity in the death. Among

[1] Adapted from J. G. Frazer's "The Golden Bough," Vol. I, pp. 9 ff.

[2] Adapted from A. W. Howitt's "Native Tribes of Southeast Australia," pp. 355 ff.

other tribes in the south the corpse is laid on a bier called "the Knowing One," and questioned. A movement of the bier is regarded as an affirmative. If it does not move, further questions are asked.

Another way, used widely in the southeast, of detecting the magician was to observe the direction in which some insect crawled from the grave; or some one would cleverly find footprints leading toward a suspicious person. If the reputed slayer belongs to another tribe, the friends of the accused formally curse the dead man and all his deceased relatives, thus affording a *casus belli*. Before the fight the dead man's tribe raises a loud cry of grief, and the other side excites them by laughter, mocking dances, and buffooneries. Both sides then revile each other vigorously; a few spears are thrown, and a slight wound or two given. Finally the old men declare that honor is satisfied.[1]

In West Australia the grave is made in a north-and-south direction, and the face of the corpse is turned toward the east; the legs are doubled under the body, so that the heels touch the thighs; the hair is cut off, also a nail from the little finger of the right hand; the finger and thumb are tied together. White earth is smeared on the forehead, and a fire is lighted upon the grave, the ashes and smoke of which are feared by all. The spear and *wommera*, or spear thrower, of the dead man are broken, and a screen of boughs erected round the sepulchral mound; in front of it is a fire; on the surrounding trees are cut rings and notches.

Farther to the north burial in the earth is preceded by a longer or shorter sojourn in a tree, save in the cases of the old women, of whom the tribes say frankly that it is not worth while to trouble about them; we may infer that the placing of the body in a tree is in some way a protection of the living, or to their advantage. When a young woman or man or even a child dies, on the other hand, the body is placed in a tree on a platform of boughs; on the actual spot at which a man dies is placed a small mound, and the camp is removed from the neighborhood. A day or two after the death this mound is carefully examined to see if any animal or creeping thing has left its traces there; if any traces are found these survivors determine from them the direction in which the murderer of the dead man lives.

[1] Adapted from F. Ratzel's "The History of Mankind," Vol. I, p. 374.

The spirit of the dead person is believed to hover about the tree; sometimes it visits the camp and is recognized by its strange, whistling voice. At intervals it is asked if the time has come for the body to be finally buried. When the proper opportunity has arrived a few men go to the tree, cut a bark basket, and one of them rakes the bones out onto it. The skull is smashed into fragments. An ant hill is then selected and the top taken off; into this the bones are put, with the exception of the thigh bone, which is wrapped round with fur string and made into a torpedo-shaped parcel. On the next day this *burumburu*, as it is called, is brought to the camp and received by some of the women, who wail at intervals. After some further ceremonies the bone is broken into fragments with blows of an ax and put into a pit, which is then covered with a stone. After this the spirit part of the dead person, which is said to be about the size of a grain of sand, goes to the place of spirits and remains there until it is time for it to be reincarnated. A curious feature of the belief in reincarnation is that the spirit becomes a male and a female alternately. Perhaps this accounts for the even-handed justice that is meted out to men and women in the matter of burial rites.

Among the Dieri tribe after a death occurs the people weep for hours and smear themselves with pipe clay.

"As soon as the breath leaves the body of the sick man, the women and children leave the camp, the men pull down his hut so as to get at his body, and it is prepared for burial by being tied up. The great toes are fastened together, and the thumbs are secured behind the back; this they say is to prevent 'walking.' Eight men take the corpse on their heads, and the grave is filled, not with earth, but with wood in order to keep the dingo at bay. The space round the grave is carefully swept, and the camp is moved from its original situation, so as to evade the attentions of the spirit if it should happen to get back to its old haunts." [1]

Among other tribes the dead body is laid between two piles of logs and duly roasted. When the skin is black all over, the master of the ceremonies draws longitudinal and transverse lines with chalk upon it, divides it with a knife along the lines from head to foot, separates the head from the trunk, and cuts every limb into pieces. Meantime

[1] N. W. Thomas, Natives of Australia, pp. 192–195, 196.

the rest keep up a cannibalistic howling and give themselves deep wounds with their battle-axes. The divided portions are, however, not eaten, but buried.

Many savage tribes can give a very detailed account of a future life, but the Australian does not seem to have been much concerned with such problems. An exceptionally elaborate story has been obtained from the Wathi-Wathy on the lower Murray. They say that when the spirit, leaving the body, starts for the sky, another spirit gives it directions as to the road to be followed. There are two roads,

AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINES SETTLING A DISPUTE

Courtesy of the Philadelphia Commercial Museum

one clean, the other dirty; the dirty one is the right one to follow, for the other is kept clean by bad spirits in the hope of tempting men to follow it. Next the *booki*, or disembodied soul, meets a woman, who tries to seduce it; then two women with a skipping-rope. Then, across both roads (for they run parallel), appears a deep pit from which flames rise, but a good spirit can clear it at a jump. Two old women take care of him. Then the god Thathapuli comes to try the *booki's* strength, and throws a *nulla-nulla* at a meteor, which is really an emu.

The Dieri think that the spirit of a dead man can visit a sleeper. The latter reports his dream to the medicine man, who, if he decides

that it was a vision and not a mere dream, will order a fire to be lighted at the grave and food to be left there. They also believe that when anyone dies his spirit goes up to Piriwilpa, the sky; it can, however, roam about the earth.

There is a widespread belief among the natives that a dead black "jumps up white fellow." This is probably not to be understood in the sense that the dead black is actually believed to return, but that he is reincarnated in the white. It has been suggested that the custom of taking off the skin of the dead was the origin of this belief; but the belief is found where the custom does not exist, and in the north it is the Malay and not the white man who is regarded as the dead black. A more natural explanation is suggested by an answer once given to a white man who inquired why they thought he was So-and-So, mentioning a dead black, and got the lucid answer that if he had not been a black man once he would not have known the way to Australia.

Regulative organization. The government of the Australians is in the hands of headmen and councils made up of the older men of the tribes. Although something like hereditary chieftainship is found in a few cases, it can hardly be said that the hereditary principle was generally recognized in Australia in deciding the headship of a tribe or local group. When there was a tendency to select the son of a late headman it was modified by the rule that he must have shown himself worthy of the post by attaining distinction as a warrior, an orator, or a bard. Sometimes several qualifications were demanded of the chief: in the Yuin tribe he had to be a medicine man, well stricken in years, able to speak several languages, skillful as a fighting man, and qualified to perform the feats of magic which the *gommeras* (headmen) exhibit at the initiation ceremonies.

The council was composed of the heads of totems and local groups, fighting men, medicine men, and, generally speaking, of old men of standing and importance. This statement of Dr. Howitt's really seems to mean that all old men attend, for he goes on to say that the attendance at the Mindari ceremony, the final stage in the initiation rites of the Dieri, is the qualification for attendance at, and ultimately for speaking in, the council of men. The matters dealt with are procuring death by magic, murder, breach of moral code, offenses against tribal customs, revealing the secrets of this tribal

council, or revealing to women the secrets of the initiation ceremonies. The principal headman speaks first, and after him the heads of totems. The manner of speaking is the repetition of broken sentences, uttered in an excited and almost frenzied manner. Those who are in agreement with the speaker repeat his sentences in a loud voice, but no one comments on the remarks until it is his turn to speak. In some of the tribes the young men were allowed to stand around and listen to the deliberations, but not to talk or laugh while they were going on. In the Yuin tribe the front line was assigned to the old men, the *gommeras* having a place set apart for them; behind the old men were the young men, but they took little part in the proceedings.

The council takes charge of many cases of justice. When a man has been adjudged by the council to have killed someone by evil magic, an armed party, called a *pinya*, is sent out to kill him. The members of this are distinguished by their dress: they have a white band around the head, the point of the beard tipped with human hair, and red and white stripes for conspicuous body-markings. The men do not speak except to put questions as to the whereabouts of the condemned man, and knowing the remorseless spirit of the *pinya* the natives answer these without attempting concealment. When the deed is done, the *pinya* is broken up and each man returns to his home. It is interesting to find that there is a form of peacemaking which may be substituted for the *pinya*; it consists of the interchange of goods by the relatives of the deceased and those on whom the guilt of blood might fall. Women bring the articles for barter, and these are handed to the members of the other party; if they are not satisfied they argue, and then follows a regulated combat between all the men present.

An erring wife might be clubbed or speared through the leg on the spot by her husband, and no one would take much notice of the incident. Indeed, the injured husband might actually kill her if he chose to sacrifice a valuable piece of property to an impulse of revenge; and the woman's kin would demand no satisfaction for her death, provided the offense were one for which there was a recognized right of inflicting punishment.

CHAPTER IX

TASMANIANS

Environment. Tasmania, which was formerly known as Van Dieman's Land, is an island with an area of 26,215 square miles, situated at the eastern extremity of the south coast of Australia, from which it is separated by Bass Straits. "Its general character is mountainous, with numerous beautiful valleys, rendered fertile by numberless streams descending from the hills, and watering, in their course to the sea, large tracts of country. The southwestern district, washed by the Southern Ocean, is high and cold; but the climate of the northern and inland districts is one of the finest in the temperate zone and produces in abundance and variety all the fruits which are found under the same latitude in Europe."[1]

History. "The island was discovered on the 24th of November, 1642, by Abel Jansen Tasman, who named it after the Governor of the Dutch East Indies, Anthony Van Dieman. It does not appear to have been visited by any European after Tasman until March, 1772, when Marion du Fresne, in command of a French expedition, spent some days in exploring the coast. A twelvemonth later it was visited by Captain Furneaux, in the *Resolution*, during his temporary separation from Captain Cook. The latter celebrated navigator visited the island in January, 1777. In the year 1798, Bass, first alone and then in company with Lieutenant Flinders, discovered and named Bass's Straits, and proved Tasmania to be an island. Captain Baudin visited the island in 1802, and the first European settlement was made the following year under the command of Lieutenant Bowen at Risdon. Before this time whalers had been in the habit of calling at the island, and we have evidence of such a visit as far back as the year 1791.

"The first aborigine killed was shot by one of Marion's party during a misunderstanding, and we have no record of any further fatal meeting between the aborigines and Europeans until 1804, about twelve

[1] H. L. Roth, The Aborigines of Tasmania, p. 1.

months after the first European settlement was formed. On this occasion a panic seemed to have seized the English, who shot down unmercifully a party of aboriginal men, women, and children, which was approaching them with every sign of friendship. In 1828 the hostilities caused by this episode had reached such a pitch that the colonists were nearly driven out of the island; but the natives, never very numerous, were already rapidly decreasing in numbers, when, in 1835, the Black War came to an end by the unconditional surrender of a few hundred of the aborigines. This wretched remnant, collected together by an energetic man named Robinson, was transferred to Flinders Island. But change of circumstances, and more especially unsuitable food, told woefully on their numbers, and when, twelve years later, these were reduced to something over forty, they were transferred to Oyster Cove, near Hobart. Here in March, 1869, William Lanney, the last Tasmanian male aborigine, died, and with the death in June, 1876, of the woman Truganina, or Lalla Rookh, the race was wiped off the face of the earth." [1]

Although these people have entirely passed away, a study of them here is important as showing the effect of the higher civilization upon the lower. It is not impossible that the fate of the Tasmanians will be the fate of many of the savage peoples who are either unwilling or unable to accept the principles of the higher civilization.

There seems to be a good deal of doubt on the part of students as to the origin of the Tasmanians, but on one thing nearly all are agreed — that they were not from the same stock as the Australians. Professor Flower, writing in 1878, says:

"The view, then, that I am most inclined to adopt of the origin of the Tasmanians is that they are derived from the same stock as the Papuans or Melanesians; that they reached Van Dieman's Land, by way of Australia, long anterior to the commencement of the comparatively high civilization of those portions of the race still inhabiting New Guinea and the adjacent islands, and also anterior to the advent in Australia of the existing native race, characterized by their straight hair and by the possession of such weapons as the boomerang, throwing-stick and shield, quite unknown to the Tasmanians. But these speculations on the relations, history, and migrations of the people who inhabit South-Eastern Asia and Australasia, require for

[1] H. L. Roth, The Aborigines of Tasmania, pp. 1–2.

their confirmation far more minute examination and comparison of their languages, customs, beliefs, and as I think, most important of all, their physical characters, than has yet been bestowed upon them." [1]

Physique. The Tasmanians were, as a rule, about five feet six to eight inches high, with bodies frequently out of proportion. They had well-developed heads, ample and fleshy shoulders, broad chests, and very muscular buttocks, but slender and weak extremities and a stomach proportionately much too big. Among those who made a study of these people the general impression seems to be that they possessed a very low type of physique and they have been characterized as "a caricature of humanity." One authority says, "They are in every respect the most destitute and wretched portion of the human family"; and another, "I should without hesitancy affirm that they are a race of beings altogether distinct from ourselves, and class them amongst the inferior species of irrational animals." [2]

These people clearly belonged to the black race, not only in so far as their color was concerned, but also as regards their other bodily features. The skull was dolichocephalic; the hair was black, crisp, and woolly, growing in small corkscrew ringlets; the individual hairs were fine and in cross section of an elliptical or flattened form. "Upon this form depends the tendency to twist, and the kind of curliness which is seen in these small corkscrew locks. This peculiarity allowed them to load the hair with red ochre, and make it thus hang down in separate small ringlets of varying length. Such ringlets give a distinguishing character to all the correct portraits of the Tasmanians. . . . The Tasmanians had no deficiency of hair. They had whiskers, moustaches and beard; but all of the same slender character, inclined to twist into spiral tufts. On the borders of the whiskers there were little tufted pellets of hair, like peppercorns, upon the cheeks." [3]

The amount of hair on the body distinguished them from the African negro, who has a comparatively small amount.

The eyes were small, and the eyebrow ridges prominent; the nose was flat and frequently upturned, the mouth wide, and the lips

[1] H. L. Roth, The Aborigines of Tasmania, p. 218.
[2] J. Bonwick, The Daily Life and Origin of the Tasmanians, p. 100.
[3] H. L. Roth, The Aborigines of Tasmania, p. 14.

everted, although not to the extent shown by the negro; the jaw was prognathous, and the chin receding. A very characteristic feature was the depression of the bone at the base of the nose which made a singular resemblance to the orang-outang. The features of neither sex were prepossessing, being flat and ugly, especially after middle age.[1]

These people were very clever with their feet, and could not only pick up things from the ground with their toes but also carry articles in the same way.

When they wished to appear unarmed, they had a habit of walking without any weapon in their hands, but very adroitly trailing their spears after them, the point held in some manner between their great toe and that next it; . . . this seems to be in order that they may have their waddy ready to heave at any small object that may appear. The spear is transferred from the foot to the hand in an instant." [2]

"It would appear that this stealthy carrying of arms is a warlike precaution, for Calder says: 'The Tasmanian aboriginal, in advancing on a victim whom he meant to kill, treacherously approached . . . with his hands clasped and resting on the top of his head, a favourite posture of the black; . . . but all the time he was dragging a spear behind him, held between his toes, in a manner that must have taken long to acquire. Then by a motion as unexpected as it was rapid, it was transferred to the hand, and the victim pierced before he could lift a hand or stir a step.'" [3]

George Munday, the first white man who was killed by an aborigine, fell a victim to this practice, for the native in question had a spear concealed and held by his toes.

They surpassed the average Europeans in three qualities: keenness of sight, keenness of hearing, and swiftness of foot; but in running they tired very soon, as their bodily strength was not great.

Self-maintenance. These people spent their time wandering from place to place, killing and eating as they went. They had no domesticated animals of any kind until the dog was introduced among them by the Europeans. They knew nothing of agriculture, even in its simplest form, but depended upon the roots, berries, and nuts

[1] Adapted from H. L. Roth's "The Aborigines of Tasmania," pp. 13–15.
[2] Ibid. p. 18. [3] Ibid. p. 18.

which they could find in their wanderings. Of animal foods the following formed the most important articles of diet: kangaroos, opossums, bandicoots, wombats, seals, stranded whales, birds, lizards, snakes, ants, grubs, and eggs. An occasional source of food has been mentioned by one writer: "These people are covered with vermin. We admired the patience of a mother, who was a long while employed in freeing one of her children from them; but we observed with disgust that, like most of the blacks, she crushed these filthy insects between her teeth, and then swallowed them." [1]

Cooking was of the simplest character, for they merely threw the meat into the fire and kept it there until it was half broiled. They knew nothing of the ovens which the natives of Australia possess, nor had they learned the art of boiling water by means of heated stones.

Because of the constant moving from place to place in search of food, the natives built neither huts nor villages. When they did need protection from the cold or the weather, they put a few branches up against a tree, so that it would break the force of the wind. If they were to be in the place for a few days, sheets of bark thrown over the branches were all the protection that was thought necessary. Where houses of wood were built for them by the Europeans, they soon left them, for they enjoyed the roving life and could not bring themselves to the point of settling down.

Marriage. The marriage system of the Tasmanians was very much simpler than that of the Australians. When a man wanted a wife, he either took her from some other tribe by force or bargained for her if she was a member of his own tribe. A man could have more than one wife, but as a rule only two or three were taken at one time. Frequently the girl was promised from infancy to some friend of the family or to his son. "So long as she was unmated, she was the property of her father or brothers. If freed from an engagement by the death of her betrothed, or the yielding of his rights, she was open to an offer, if made to, and approved of by her natural owners." [2]

The women were treated almost like slaves or beasts of burden and made to do all the work, both on the march and in the camp. During their wanderings, "while the men are taking it easy in front, the women follow at some short distance behind, sweltering under a load

[1] H. L. Roth, The Aborigines of Tasmania, p. 123 (quoting an early traveler).
[2] J. Bonwick, The Daily Life and Origin of the Tasmanians, p. 61.

of one or two children on their backs, a couple of puppy dogs in their arms, and a variety of miscellaneous articles slung around them. The men are extremely selfish: if, after being short of food, one kills a kangaroo, he does not divide it with the others of the party, but, after his wife has cooked it, and taken her place behind his back, he satisfies himself with the choicest parts, handing her from time to time the half-devoured pieces over his shoulder; this he does with an air of the greatest condescension, without turning around. . . .

"If a storm came on unexpectedly, the men would sit down while the women built huts over them, in which operation, as in all others of a menial nature, the men took no part." [1]

Infanticide was common. "The want of food for infants, the inconveniences of nomadic life, the interference with the personal charms of the wife, jealousies of other women, the arrest of their own pleasure, the disagreeables of baby life, and sometimes the desire of sparing a daughter the wretched lot of the future, were causes of infanticide. New-born infants were often buried alive with the deceased mother. Fathers, when enraged with their lubras [women], would occasionally snatch up and murder their child." [2]

As with most savage peoples, a man was not allowed to have anything to do with his mother-in-law. If he met her while out, he would avoid her by diving into the bush.

"A story is told of a man who was uncomfortable at the attentions of a gigantic bully in the tribe towards his gin [consort], and who effectually warded off his jealousy by the engagement to give him for a future wife a newly-born daughter. The enamoured gentleman had thenceforth to keep his distance from the beautiful property." [3]

Clothing and ornaments. The clothing worn by the natives during the warm part of the year was at a minimum. In winter they threw two or three opossum skins, fastened together, over their shoulders, but the rest of the body was left quite uncovered. The amount of ornamentation was not great, for a strip or two of fur, a few flowers in the hair, and a string of beads or shells were all that they had. Like the Australians, they heavily scarred the body, especially the upper part of it. Both sexes daubed powdered charcoal and red ocher on

[1] H. L. Roth, The Aborigines of Tasmania, pp. 125–126.
[2] J. Bonwick, The Daily Life and Origin of the Tasmanians, p. 79.
[3] Ibid. p. 80.

the face and body, and they frequently drew patterns on their arms, legs, and thighs. At times the paint mixed with grease was so thickly smeared over the body that it was impossible to see any skin, and as they seldom bathed, the effect produced on a foreigner coming near them was far from pleasant. The ocher and grease were plastered into the hair until it became a stiff and tangled mop. Frequently they would so arrange the hair that it hung around their heads in corkscrew curls; for such a consummation an entire morning was not too much to spend.

Pleasures. The amusements of these people were few and consisted for the most part of dancing and singing around their camp fires at night. Many of their performances were of an imitative character, and described by exact motions the action of animals, the hunting, fishing, and war expeditions, and the domestic life around the camp. "Another amusement of these male aborigines was the throwing of waddies and spears at grass stems set up as marks, which they frequently hit." [1] They also threw spears at one another, and so dexterous did they become in dodging them that they were seldom wounded. By a contortion of the body, a movement of the head to the right or left, or the raising of the leg or arm they escaped shafts which would certainly have transfixed the less nimble European.[2]

Religion. According to most of those who made a study of the Tasmanians, they were without the idea of a supreme being who created and ruled the universe. Various missionaries who have investigated the subject say that these people possessed no creed or any form of religion and had no religious rites. But, they add, there was a dread of a malignant and destructive spirit, which was the predominant, if not the only, feeling on the subject.[3] It is in this last statement that we find the significant evidence. Scientists who have visited and studied the Tasmanians from an unbiased point of view found that they believed in two spirits: a good one who governed the day, and a bad one who ruled at night. It was to the good one that they addressed their appeals, and when any of the family were away they sang to it in order that the absent ones might have a successful journey and a safe return. Besides these two main spirits, they

[1] H. L. Roth, The Aborigines of Tasmania, p. 153.
[2] Adapted from H. L. Roth's "The Aborigines of Tasmania," p. 19.
[3] Adapted from J. Bonwick's "The Daily Life and Origin of the Tasmanians," pp. 171–172.

believed in a plurality of powerful but generally evil-disposed beings who inhabited crevices and caverns of rocky mountains, and who had temporary abodes in hollow trees and solitary valleys. Of these spirits a few were supposed to be of great power, but the majority had the nature usually attributed to goblins and elves.

That the Tasmanians believed in a future life we see from the fact that they thought the spirits of their departed friends and relatives returned to bless or injure them. In order to avoid possible harm they wore around their necks as amulets the bones of some near kin. The evidence is very slight to prove that they believed in otherworldliness.[1] Most travelers say that nothing in the way of tools, weapons, or food was left on the grave, but the statement of one native, who said, in regard to a spear which was planted on a single grave, "That is to fight with when he is asleep," leads us to believe that perhaps they did think of the next world as a place where the things of this life would be needed.

Death and burial. There were two ways of disposing of the dead: one was to burn the body, and the other was to place it in a hollow tree. A cremation is described as follows:

"One of the women died. The men formed a pile of logs and at sunset placed the body of the woman upon it, supported by small wood which concealed her, and formed a pyramid. They then placed their sick people around the pile, at a short distance. On A. Cottrell, our informant, inquiring the reason of this, they told him the dead woman would come in the night and take the 'devil' out of them. At daybreak the pile was set on fire, and fresh wood added as any part of the body became exposed, till the whole was consumed. The ashes of the dead were collected in a kangaroo skin, and every morning, before sunrise, till they were consumed, a portion of them was smeared over the faces of the survivors, and a death song sung, with great emotion, tears clearing away lines among the ashes. The store of ashes, in the meantime, was suspended about one of their necks." [2] If the ashes were not treated in this way, they were piled on the ground in some quiet spot, and over them was built a bark hut. There were apparently no funeral rites that had in them a religious significance.

[1] Otherworldliness, a belief that life in the future world is a replica of life on this earth.
[2] H. L. Roth, The Aborigines of Tasmania, p. 132.

The Tasmanians never spoke of the dead. "In fact, it was a settled custom in every tribe, upon the death of any individual, most scrupulously to abstain ever after from mentioning the name of the deceased — a rule, the infraction of which would, they considered, be followed by some dire calamities: they therefore used great circumlocution in referring to a dead person, so as to avoid pronunciation of the name — if, for instance, William and Mary, man and wife, were both deceased, and Lucy, the deceased sister of William, had been married to Isaac, also dead, whose son Jemmy still survived, and they wished to speak of Mary, they would say, 'the wife of the brother of Jemmy's father's wife,' and so on." [1]

Regulative organization. The ruling power, at least during war, was in the hands of that man who could assume and hold the authority by force. There is no evidence to show that the rule was inherited, nor that it was elective. The degree of distinction in which any native was held by his fellows, or the amount of deference that was paid to his opinions, depended upon his personal strength, courage, energy, prudence, skill, and other similar qualifications.[2] During the times of peace the war chiefs retired to the quietude of everyday forest life. There is no evidence to show that the natives were ever in the habit of meeting in council to discuss matters concerning the tribes. The hunting territory of each group was clearly marked, and these boundaries were, under ordinary circumstances, respected; if they were not, a war ensued.

On the whole the Tasmanians were a peace-loving people and would probably be in existence today if the white race had not come into such forcible contact with them. The Europeans killed off a great number of the black fellows merely for sport, and one traveler recounts hunting expeditions which went out from the settlements with the idea of "bagging" as many natives as possible.

"A friend once described to me a fearful scene at which he was present. A number of blacks, with the women and children, were congregated in a gully near town, . . . and the men had formed themselves into a ring round a large fire, while the women were cooking the evening meal of opossums and bandicoots; they were surprised by a party of soldiers, who, without giving warning, fired

[1] H. L. Roth, The Aborigines of Tasmania, p. 74.
[2] Adapted from J. Bonwick's "The Daily Life and Origin of the Tasmanians," p. 81.

upon them as they sat, and rushing up to the scene of slaughter, found there wounded men and women, and a little child crawling near its dying mother. The soldier drove his bayonet through the body of the child, and pitchforked it into the flames. 'It was only a child,' he said! It is stated also that it was a favorite amusement to hunt the aborigines; that a day would be selected, and the neighboring settlers invited, with their families to a picnic. . . . After dinner, all would be gaiety and merriment, whilst the gentlemen of the party would take their guns and dogs, and, accompanied by two or three convict servants, wander through the bush in search of black fellows. Sometimes they would return without sport; at others they would succeed in killing a woman, or, if lucky, mayhap a man or two. . . . As the white settler spread his possessions over the island — over the natives' favourite camping-grounds, driving away their kangaroos and replacing them with bullocks and sheep — the natives objected in their own way to the inroad. In many cases, no doubt, the blacks were sacrificed to momentary caprice or anger, and suffered much wrong. Indeed, one of the Governor's proclamations states that cruelties had been perpetrated repugnant to humanity and disgraceful to the British people." [1]

[1] H. L. Roth, The Aborigines of Tasmania, pp. 170–171, quoting from Hull's "Aborigines of Tasmania." (Manuscripts in Royal Colonial Institute.)

CHAPTER X

MELANESIANS

Physical environment. Melanesia is a group of islands lying in the tropical zone to the north and northeast of Australia, and includes New Guinea, Fiji, the New Hebrides, the Solomon Islands, the Santa Cruz group, the Banks Islands, New Caledonia, and the Loyalty Islands. A large number of these islands are of volcanic origin, and even today there are numerous active volcanoes situated on them. Because of this mountainous interior the people live near the seacoast and are a fishing and trading people. Even on the large island of New Guinea, which has an easily accessible interior, a great majority of the population are seafaring people. As in Australia, there are no large wild animals, although the tusked hog, the cassowary, the wallaby, the tree kangaroo, and the opossum are found in many of the islands.

Physical and mental characters. The Melanesians belong to the black race. The skull is dolichocephalic. The hair of the head, which is long and very curly, is a source of great pride to the people. They arrange it in enormous perukes which stand far out from the head so that they have been given the name "mop-heads." The people of southern New Guinea have been called Papuans, which, being translated, means "frizzle-haired." So much time is spent in combing, cutting, and decorating the hair that they do not take it down at night, and so they have special curved sleeping-stools for their heads so that their coiffures will not be disturbed. There is a good deal of hair on the face and on the body, although it is not so abundant as that of the Australians. Usually the nose is narrower and more prominent than that of the Negro, especially in New Guinea and the neighboring islands, and the skull itself is as a rule higher and narrower, although some skulls are essentially African in character. Many of the people have a flat, receding forehead, but this is largely due to artificial binding when the individuals are young, in order that a certain type of beauty may be acquired.

In many respects the Melanesians are more savage in their disposition than are the Australians. It has been said of them that they are "frightfully barbarous and bloodthirsty, cowardly, revengeful, proud to the uttermost, and much given to lying; which bad qualities are most conspicuous in the Fijians, the most advanced of them all." They are a great deal inferior to the Polynesians and the Malays, and occupy, as it were, a depression in the level of culture between

MELANESIAN NATIVES
Courtesy of Dr. A. C. Haddon

these two peoples, retaining many ideas, customs, and practices which among the others have already become obsolete, or nearly so.

"The Melanesian is more impulsive, more frank, noisier, more violent than the Polynesian. A casual utterance will cause a woman to sit down in the public place of a village, shed tears without end, and fill the air with lamentations and a flood of scolding and threatening language. The cry will be heard from the top of a hill, 'War! War! Will no man kill me that I may go to the shade of my father?' All rush to the spot and find a man in the depths of grief because his friend has cut off a yard or two from a piece of bark cloth belonging to them in common. Suicide is not unknown.

"Revenge may form the most important duty in life for a Melanesian. If a man is injured he puts up a stick or a stone where he cannot help but see it, to keep him constantly in mind of the duty of revenge. If a man abstains from food or keeps away from the dance, it is a bad sign for his enemies. The man who goes about with his head half shaved or, in addition to this, allows a long twisted bunch of hair to hang down his back is thinking of revenge. Sometimes

YOUNG MEN, NEW GUINEA
Courtesy of Dr. A. C. Haddon

there hangs from the gable of a house a bundle of tobacco which is only to be smoked over the corpse of an enemy; or the bloody clothes of a slain relation preserve the memory of an unatoned deed. Nor is there any lack of friends to keep a man reminded of his duty, with songs either lamenting or censuring. Open violence is not the only means of appeasing revenge. Hired assassins are employed, or magical devices with sticks, leaves, or reeds are adopted. A dead man often takes a whole generation with him; his wives are throttled, and his mother often shares the same fate. Treacherous and blood-thirsty acts, such as have earned a bad reputation

for the Solomon Islanders in particular, may often be referred only to revenge for some injustice suffered." [1]

If the natives of New Guinea desire vengeance on the inhabitants of a neighboring village, the warriors start out in their canoes, yelling and shouting as they go. If the attack is successful and the killing and plundering abundant, they return to their canoes with hilarious jubilation, dancing, and drum-beating.

Then the wretched captives' palms are pierced, a string passed through the holes and the hands tied together at the back. On the return voyage they are jeered at and taunted with the prospect of torture, and when the flotilla arrives they are thrown into the water and fished out by those on the beach, who stick barbed spears into the less vulnerable fleshy parts, the use of hands being barred by custom. In the village they are put on mats, a rope secured to a tree is passed round their necks to make them sit with head erect, and their hands held down, while the nearest female relative of the man to be avenged steps forward armed with a sharp-pointed stick. "Is it with this right eye," she asks, "that you have seen my son (or brother, etc.) captured? Is it with this right eye you saw him cut to pieces, cooked and eaten? Well, this is the payment for it," thrusting the stick into his right eye. All the other female relatives then follow, each in her turn inflicting some fresh but not deadly gash, after which he is wrapped in dry coconut leaves, hoisted some six feet from the ground, and slowly roasted with firesticks. When the rope by which the body is hung is burnt and the body falls to the ground the wildest and most savage scene takes place. The natives rush with knives in their hands, each slashing a piece off the body, which may be still alive, in the midst of diabolical noise and yells of rejoicing.

Industrial life. *Fishing.* In the industrial life of the people, fishing holds the most important place. This is carried on from boats by means of nets, which in New Guinea are often five hundred yards long and require hundreds of men to handle them; and by hooks made from birds' bones, tortoise shell, sea shells, and hard wood, and fitted with artificial bait made from feathers or bright pieces of shell. Those used for sharks are sometimes twenty inches long. In New Caledonia and western Melanesia fishing is done entirely with arrows, spears, and nets.

[1] F. Ratzel, The History of Mankind, Vol. I, p. 219.

Boat-building. The people of Melanesia have become very skillful in navigation and in their construction of their boats. A great number of their canoes are made out of hollow tree trunks, and even their large sailing canoes, which will hold forty men, are made from a single log. These latter are not only dug out, but the sides are also built up and decks laid with planks tied on. Most of these boats, whether propelled by sails or by paddles, have outriggers which enable them to go out in rough weather without fear of being capsized.

A NATIVE HOUSE AND BOAT, MELANESIA
Courtesy of Dr. A. C. Haddon

The larger boats of New Guinea are from sixteen to twenty feet long and from two to two and one-half feet wide. The hull, made in one piece, is hollowed out from a trunk which must have no flaw. It is not more than half an inch thick, and has crossties to keep it from warping. Both ends curve upward and are strengthened with wooden posts, of which that in the stem rises high and is adorned with arabesques or painted. To raise the gunwale above the water line the ribs of sago-palm leaves are employed. These are by preference interlaced and then, being attached like tiles to the crossties, form a water-tight surface. Over the gunwale are fastened two light crosspieces, which project about five feet; and at the end of these is another piece of wood, bent at right angles, just touching the surface of the water and sticking into a strong boom, light as cork and

serving as a float. Amidships on the cross timbers a square cabin of bamboo is erected, sheltered against injury from weather by a small roof of coco-palm leaves. All other kinds of craft, from the raft upward, are found in New Guinea. The ornamentation, especially that of the war canoes, is rich.

After a big war canoe is finished, a feast is held at which as many as a hundred pigs may be killed. In order to have it dedicated properly the attempt was made to get a human victim. In the eastern

A FIJI HOUSE AND CANOES

Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York

Solomon Islands, if no victim was met with on the first trip of the new canoe, the chief who owned it secretly arranged with some neighboring chief to let him have one of his men — some friendless man or a stranger — who would then be killed as he went out to look at the new canoe. It was thought a kind thing to come up behind and strike him without warning. Farther west, captives were kept with a view to taking their heads when new canoes were launched.[1]

In these larger boats the people are able to travel many hundreds of miles. They go on these long journeys either for the purpose of

[1] Adapted from R. H. Codrington's "The Melanesians," p. 297.

falling upon the inhabitants of neighboring islands and getting heads for their canoe houses, or in order to meet on some appointed day of the year for an exchange of goods.

Agriculture. Although the Melanesians are largely a fishing and trading people, yet agriculture is not neglected. The chief articles raised are the yam, the breadfruit, the banana, and the coconut palm. The cultivation of these is carried on in fields that are fenced in, have irrigation ditches, and are carefully weeded. At the time of the harvest of the yams a great feast is held, often lasting for days,

MEETING FOR A HUNT IN NEW GUINEA

Hunting and fighting are practically synonymous, and as some of the people are cannibals the trophies of both are often devoured. (Courtesy of the Philadelphia Commercial Museum)

to which are invited people from the surrounding country. The time is taken up with singing, dancing, eating, and drinking. After the feast is over, the rest of the yam harvest is stored away. It is often kept for two years.

Cannibalism. Although cannibalism exists on some of the islands, it is now largely a thing of the past. Where it is practiced, men killed in battle are eaten by the victors, and if there is an abundance of them, the meat is even sold in market. However, to kill for the purpose of eating human flesh, though not unknown, is rare. In the New Hebrides, after a bitter fight, a slain enemy is eaten as a sign of rage and indignation; he is cooked in an oven as is a pig, and then each member of the tribe eats a portion of him.

Cooking. In cooking, the people of Melanesia differ from all other peoples of Oceania in that many of them possess pottery. Those who have not acquired this art boil water in wooden bowls by dropping in red-hot stones. One method of cooking meat is to slip it between hot stones or, more effectively, to sprinkle water over the latter, put the food on, and then cover the whole with leaves and clay. The result is that the meat is thoroughly steamed. Many of the tribes have a permanent stone-lined oven. A fire is lighted in the hole by rubbing two sticks together, and many rocks are thrown on top. When the fire has burned down, these stones are taken out with wooden tongs, the food is wrapped in leaves and placed inside, hot stones are scattered among the bundles of food, and the rest of the heated rock is piled on top. The whole is shut in with leaves or earth, and water, either salt or fresh, is poured on to make steam. This method of cooking, which takes a good part of a day, is done by the men.

A NATIVE OF NEW GUINEA MAKING FIRE
Courtesy of the Melanesian Mission

Weapons and fighting. Of the weapons used in the hunt and in the fight the spear is the most common, although the bow is used on all the islands. In battle the men carry shields. A fight among these people is not a very serious affair, for if they come together in the open the battle begins and ends in a series of duels. Even where they fight with bows an open battle is not common. There is much shouting of defiance, cursing, abuse, and boasting, stamping with the heel, and grasping the ground with the toes, which is a marked sign of valor; but when the first blood is shed the battle is over. The arrow is supposed to have certain magical power because the head is, as a rule, made from a human bone. The maker

sings or mutters charms as he ties the bone to the shaft, and expects that as a consequence the man whose bone he is using will help in making the wound fatal. Some years ago there was a man on Lepers' Island who because of love for his dead brother dug up his body and made arrows from his bones. With these he went about, speaking of himself as "I and my brother"; all were afraid of him, for they believed that his dead brother was at hand to help him.[1]

MAKING FIRE BY MEANS OF A FIRE PLOW, NEW GUINEA
Courtesy of Dr. A. C. Haddon

Wounds. If a man is wounded by one of these charmed arrows and part of it has been left in the wound, it is extracted by means of leaf poultices and is kept in a damp place or on cool leaves. It is thought that the result will be favorable to the injured man and that the inflammation will go down. Shells, over which incantations have been sung, are hung from the roof of the house where the wounded man lies, with the expectation that their rattling will keep off the hostile ghosts. But the man who has done the injury has by no means finished his work. "He and his friends will drink hot and burning juices, and chew irritating leaves; pungent and bitter

[1] Adapted from R. H. Codrington's "The Melanesians," p. 309.

herbs will be burnt to make an irritating smoke; a bundle of leaves known to the shooter or bought from a wizard will be tied upon the bow that sent the arrow, to secure a fatal result; the arrowhead, if recovered, will be put into the fire; the bow will be kept near the fire to make the wound it has inflicted hot, or, as in Lepers' Island, will be put into a cave haunted by a ghost; the bowstring will be kept taut and occasionally pulled, to bring on tension of the nerves and the spasms of tetanus to the wounded man." [1]

A NATIVE VILLAGE IN NEW GUINEA
Courtesy of Dr. A. C. Haddon

Houses. Most of the houses are built on piles for protection from enemies and from animals, small as well as large. In some localities they are situated out in the water, the connection with the shore being made by means of a long gangway which can be pulled in when advisable. The side walls and the floor are formed of split bamboos which have been flattened and interlaced. The roof is made of interwoven grasses and leaves. Frequently an entire land village consisting of about fifty houses will be up in the air, and it is possible to go from one house to another without descending to the ground. The

[1] R. H. Codrington, The Melanesians, p. 310.

houses are in many cases so large that several families can live in a single one, and if a man has many wives, each will have a small house to herself within the big one. In New Guinea, huts large enough to hold twelve people are fastened to the branches of big trees, eighty to one hundred feet above the ground. The stem below is stripped of all unnecessary branches and made perfectly smooth. The entrance to the hut is made by ladders of bamboo, which can be pulled up after the occupants have safely reached the top. At the foot of the tree is another hut, which is used during the daytime, the upper one being reserved for night or for a case of sudden attack.

Furniture. The furniture for these houses is of the simplest character. Boards covered with a mat form the bed. The hearth is made of basketwork with a covering layer of earth. Long pieces of bamboo with the joints pierced for holding water, sacks of matting, javelins, bows, arrows, and spears all have their appointed places. There are also to be found pieces of pottery and wooden bowls, which are used in cooking. Most of the houses are elaborately carved with figures of men and animals. In this art the Melanesians are very skillful, and display their talent on practically all the tools and implements which can conveniently be so treated.

Marriage. Marriage takes place among the Melanesians at a very early age. It frequently happens that a man with a son born to him will wait for the birth of a suitable girl to be his son's wife. This is especially true among the more wealthy members of the population, where payments and negotiations begin at birth and last until the marriage is finally consummated.

"When little children have been betrothed, the girl, still very young, comes bringing her food with her to spend a month or two in her future father-in-law's house, and to become acquainted with the family. The betrothed children converse and play together at their ease, knowing what is proposed; and this visit is repeated while the children are little, from time to time, and part of the money, porpoise teeth, and dogs' teeth to be paid to the girl's father is handed over. In consequence of this familiarity, when the girl is marriageable and all is arranged she goes willingly enough to take up her abode in her new family, without any real or affected reluctance on her part, or lifting or carrying by her friends. It is sometimes, however, a long time before the marriage is consummated, through the shyness of

the bridegroom, though the parents encourage the young couple to be friendly, and give them opportunities of talking and working together." [1]

Frequently it is necessary that the girl be tattooed when she reaches a marriageable age. The tattooing is done by a professional man, who is paid for services in pigs and other goods, and when it is finished, the father of the boy who is to marry the decorated maiden knows that it is time for him to make the final payment.

A PRESENT OF FOOD BEING CARRIED TO THE BRIDEGROOM'S FAMILY ON THE WEDDING DAY, NEW GUINEA

Courtesy of the Philadelphia Commercial Museum

When the marriage day arrives a ceremony is held in the center of the village. The groom and his parents provide a feast for the bride and her friends, and an orator exhorts the young man to feed his wife well, to treat her kindly, and not to be sulky with her. The bride, attired in a new petticoat and wrapped in a new mat, is then handed over to the groom. In cases where there has not been such close intimacy during childhood a sham fight takes place between the relatives of the bride and groom. After it is over, the bride is escorted to the house of the groom or to that of his father, and the marriage ceremony is completed.

[1] R. H. Codrington, The Melanesians, pp. 238–239.

Relation of the sexes. Before marriage the relations between the two sexes are very free, and unchastity is not regarded seriously. However, in some of the islands there are a great many professional women, who collect a fortune prior to marriage, and even girls of the better class provide themselves with a dowry by selling their favors. It frequently happens that daughters of wealthy parents are kept strictly chaste; should they break over the moral taboo they are placed in the class of common prostitutes. In all events adultery is very seriously punished. If the man is caught he is either put to

TATTOOED GIRLS OF NEW GUINEA
Courtesy of the Philadelphia Commercial Museum

death or made to pay a heavy fine; the wife is either dismissed, or the chief takes her and makes her earn money for him. If adultery occurs among the lower classes, the friends of both sides will fight about the damages to be exacted. It is from this cause that most of the fights on the island originate. Divorce is easy and common and may take place at the will of either party. One great deterrent is that the property paid for a wife is not returned unless a separation is desired on both sides, in which case the father of the woman will pay back the original price received for her.

A man may have more than one wife, and the ceremonies and payment for all after the first are slight. It is the duty of a man to take over his deceased brother's wives and add them to his own, in order

that property may not be lost by having some other man take them. Cases have been known where a man has had sixty wives, but the average man is quite content with two. However, as a man advances in years, there tend to collect about him the widows of his maternal uncles, his brothers, and his cousins, so that he becomes (in name, at least) the unhappy consort of a host of female relations.

Abortion and infanticide. Abortion and infanticide are common in all classes of society. The old women frequently determine whether a newborn child shall live. If it is not promising in appearance or is likely to be troublesome or is of the wrong sex, its mouth is stuffed with leaves, or perhaps it is thrown into a hole and stones are thrown in upon it. On the Banks Islands male children are killed rather than female, for the latter will bring in a good sum of money when sold in marriage. Twins are looked upon with favor, although among many savage peoples either one or both are killed.

Initiation of boys. When the age of puberty arrives the boy is initiated into the tribe as having become a man. Up to this period he has lived at home with his mother and sisters, but now he must leave them and go to eat and sleep in the men's clubhouse. His intercourse with his mother and sisters becomes very reserved.

"He must not use as a common noun the word which is the name, or makes part of the name, of any of them, and they avoid his name as carefully. He may go to his father's house to ask for food, but if his sister is within, he has to go away before he eats; if no sister is there, he can sit down near the door and eat. If by chance brother and sister meet in the path, she runs away or hides. If a boy on the sands knows that certain footsteps are his sister's, he will not follow them, nor will she his. This mutual avoidance begins when the boy is clothed or the girl tattooed, and continues through life. The reserve between son and mother increases as the boy grows up, and is much more on her side than his. He goes to the house and asks for food. When his mother brings it, she does not give it to him, but puts it down for him to take. If they talk together she sits at a little distance and turns away, for she is shy of her grown-up son." [1]

Clothing. The clothing is of the simplest character and for the most part consists of a loin cloth made of leaves or grasses or a bark fabric that is hammered out of the bark of the paper mulberry.

[1] R. H. Codrington, The Melanesians, p. 232.

Peschel has said that the amount of clothing worn by men varies inversely as the darkness of the skin, and hence we are not surprised to find that the clothing of these people is left almost entirely to the imagination. The body is often tattooed, but not with the elaborate designs which appear among the Polynesians. The Melanesians follow the Australians in this respect, by deeply scarring the skin, chiefly for religious reasons. Shells, bones, and teeth are used in great

INTERIOR OF MEN'S CLUBHOUSE, NEW GUINEA
Courtesy of Dr. A. C. Haddon

profusion for ornamentation. These are worn not only around the neck but also in perforations made in the ears, the lips, and the nose.

Self-gratification. The chief amusement of these people is dancing. Often large groups of men will wander from island to island giving exhibitions of their ability along this line. They wear elaborate costumes, and their hair is dressed with great care. The dance is accompanied by song and by the noise of the drum and of a sort of flute, or Panpipes, made from stems of the bamboo. In their hands the dancers have castanets of shells; around their ankles and wrists are rattles of nuts and seeds.

Of their games, football, which is of the general order of the Rugby game, is the most enjoyable, although hurling spears at one another and dodging them is also an important sport. The children play hide and seek, fly kites, and spin tops much as do those of a more civilized community.

Religion. The religion of these people is, in essential respects, similar to that of other savages living on the same stage of culture.

A NATIVE WITH A DRUM, MELANESIA
Courtesy of Dr. A. C. Haddon

"The Melanesian mind is entirely possessed by the belief in a supernatural power or influence, called almost universally *mana*. This is what works to effect everything which is beyond the ordinary power of man, outside the common processes of nature. It is present in the atmosphere of life, attaches itself to persons and to things, and is manifested by results which can only be ascribed to its operation. When one has got it he can use it and direct it, but its force may break forth at some new point. The presence of it is ascertained by proof. A man comes by chance upon a stone which takes his fancy; its shape is singular; it is like something; it is certainly not a common stone; there must be a *mana* in it. So he argues with himself and he puts it to the proof; he lays it at the root of a tree to the fruit of which it has a certain resemblance, or he buries it in the ground when he plants his garden; an abundant crop on the tree or in the garden shows that he is right, the stone is *mana*, has that power in it." [1]

This universal animation of everything does not mean that the spirits are necessarily good, and many of the ills of life are ascribed

[1] R. H. Codrington, The Melanesians, pp. 118–119.

to their malevolent influence. Most of the religious rites of the people consist in obtaining this *mana*, or deriving benefit from it, either through prayers or sacrifice.

"The other world can become practically effective for the living, either through the mediation of departed souls which wander between heaven and earth, or by the entry, whether temporary or permanent, of a god into an earthly object. In this way, the tutelary spirits, who are extraordinarily important in the practical service of the gods, came into existence." [1]

"The Melanesians believe in the existence of beings personal, intelligent, full of *mana*, with a certain bodily form which is visible, but not fleshly like the bodies of men. These they think to be more or less actively concerned in the affairs of men, and they invoke and otherwise approach them. These may be called spirits; but it is most important to distinguish between spirits who are beings of an order higher than mankind, and the disembodied spirits of men, which have become, in the vulgar sense of the word, ghosts. . . .

"There is no priestly order, and no persons who can properly be called priests. Any man can have access to some object of worship, and most men in fact do have it, either by discovery of their own or by knowledge imparted to them by those who have before employed it. If the object of worship, as in some sacrifices, is one common to the members of a community, the man who knows how to approach that object is in a way their priest and sacrifices for all of them; but it is in respect of that particular function only that he has a sacred character; and it is very much by virtue of that function that a man is a chief, and not at all because he is chief that he performs the sacrifice. Women and children generally are excluded from religious rites. In close connection with religious observances come the various practices of magic and witchcraft, of doctoring and weather-doctoring; for all is done by the aid of ghosts and spirits." [2]

Death and burial. After a man is dead his ghost is supposed to have greater power and force than the man had during life; hence the people have the utmost desire to keep on the right side of the recently dead, especially if the person in question had been prominent.

"The souls of old chiefs are deified after their death, and invoked

[1] F. Ratzel, The History of Mankind, Vol. I, p. 300.
[2] R. H. Codrington, The Melanesians, pp. 120, 127.

by name with sacrifices. A certain gradation is imported into this troop of spirits and souls by the distinctions of rank which prevailed among their former earthly tabernacles. For this reason the destiny of the souls of chiefs and priests which have quitted the earth is materially higher than that of the lower classes, since even in life the former were inhabited by higher powers, and these will have a yet more powerful effect when freed from the bodily husk. Since the souls of chiefs go to the stars, while others wait upon or within the earth, the stars are designated simply as the souls of the departed. As these take their way upward in the darkness they are of course easily seized and dragged about by evil spirits. . . .

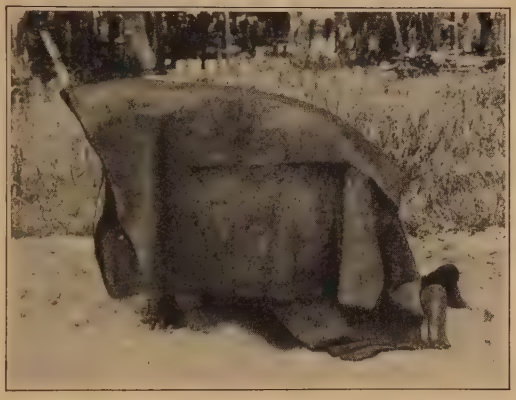
"No sooner has the soul left the body than it enters upon its wandering, which ends in various ways, according to its rank and deserts. At first it does not go far away, and by a combination of forces can often be recalled; to which end the relations round the death-bed call out, loud and impressively, the name of the departing. It is believed that immediately after death the soul can be recaptured. In one dirge, the dead man's wife calls upon him as a bird, which flies ever farther to its home and its adopted parent. . . .

"Great variety prevails in modes of interment. In the west the body is kept at hand as long as possible; and at least portions of it, especially the skull, and above all, the lower jaw, are prepared for permanent preservation. On the Maclay coast of New Guinea the corpse has usually to be dried before the fire in the hut. In other islands it is hung up in mats between the branches of trees until the soft parts have decayed away, after which it is laid symmetrically with other skeletons in a cave on the seashore. Children's bodies are merely hung up in a basket under the roof. Burial within the hut is customary in Fiji. Among the Motus of Port Moresby the only sign of mourning is the incessant beating of drums for three days. When this is over, the grave is dug in front of the house, the dead body laid in a mat, and a little hut built over the grave. After a time the grave is opened, the corpse taken out and smeared on the elbows and knees with red ochre, while the widow smears herself with the decaying flesh. Then the dead man is put by again, and the little sepulchral house is gradually pulled to pieces, so that no trace of the grave is left. All these proceedings are accompanied by carousals." [1]

[1] F. Ratzel, The History of Mankind, Vol. I, pp. 301, 328.

Sometimes the dead man's wife and child are dragged to the open grave, where they are killed and thrown in, together with his possessions, such as guns, money, and household treasures. Often at the time of the funeral the breadfruit trees and the coconut trees which belonged to him are cut down.

"The practice of burying alive is widely extended; it was extensively used as a means of infanticide, but old and sick people sought of their own free will to be buried. In the case of new-born children a fire was lighted over the grave to stifle the soul. In Vate, when old people are to be buried alive, a pig is tied to their arm, which is afterwards consumed at the feast and accompanies the soul into the next world. In the Fiji Islands it is customary also to strangle, and the cord is regarded there as a great kindness in comparison with the club. If a chief in the Solomon Islands dies, his wives are strangled in their sleep; it would be a shame for them, and an insult to the dead man's memory, if they were to marry men of lower rank. The same end is frequently allotted to the wives or nearest relations of an ordinary man; even in death he must be surrounded by those who love him. In Anaiteum the women are said to wear the ominous cord round their necks from their wedding day." [1]



A WIDOW OF NEW GUINEA IN FULL MOURNING

She must not go out except when it is positively necessary, and then only in this way. (Courtesy of the Philadelphia Commercial Museum)

The abode of the dead is thought to be above ground on some distant island, although in some places the soul follows the sun into the ocean, in order to reach the next world. In most cases the future life is a replica of the life on this earth: the children ghosts tease the elder ghosts and are banished to a second island; the chief builds his house and his boats; the men and women plant and reap

[1] F. Ratzel, The History of Mankind, Vol. I, p. 330.

in the fields; and finally they pass out of this ghost life into the white ants' nests when the people on this earth forget them and turn to worship some of the more recently dead, and when sacrificial food is no longer offered.[1]

Regulative organization. The government of the Melanesians is of the simplest character. The form is not tribal, and hence there can be no political structure held together by the authority of tribal chiefs. What power the latter have rests upon the belief in their supernatural intercourse with ghosts and spirits. The petty rulers who do exist hold sway during both war and peace. They direct the common operations and industries, preside at sacrifices, inflict fines, and order people put to death. Their subjects work in their gardens and build houses and canoes for them. Each little ruler has about him a number of young men, who of their own volition have joined themselves to him as retainers and carry out his commands.

[1] Adapted from R. H. Codrington's "The Melanesians," p. 261.

NEGRITOS

CHAPTER XI

NEGRITOS OF THE WEST AND EAST

Classification and history. The Negritos may be divided into five branches separated by great distances of land and water, yet each bearing so close a relationship to the others that they may be considered under a single category. These are the dwarfish inhabitants of Central Africa, the Andaman Islands, the Malay Peninsula, the Philippines, and part of New Guinea.

There is little known of the early history of these people or how they came to be so distantly separated, but various theories have been advanced to account for this dispersing. Keane has offered a suggestion which is perhaps as near the truth as any other. Let us suppose that the original home of the negro group was the Indo-Austral regions which are now flooded by the Indian Ocean.

"But before, or simultaneously with, the subsidence of the land, its human inhabitants gradually withdrew westwards to Africa, north-eastwards to India and Malaysia, eastwards to South Australia and Tasmania and later to New Zealand. Thus from the remotest times were constituted by easy and natural migrations the various Negro groups in those regions on both sides of the Indian Ocean, where they have always dwelt, and where they are still found, generally in association with allied anthropoid apes. Perhaps the strongest argument for the original unity of all these groups, now separated by a great marine basin, is afforded by the fact that the two main sections, the African and Oceanic, comprise two distinct types, the tall Negro and the dwarfish Negrito. As the Negrito appears to represent the primitive stock, from which the Negro diversed later, such a parallelism cannot be regarded as a mere coincidence.

"Here the parent stem, after throwing off the two great African and Indo-Oceanic branches to the right and left (west and east),

soon dies out, submerged, as it were, by the rising waters of the Indian Ocean. That the Negrito branches, from which the Negro proper is seen to break away at an early date in both regions, stand nearest to the primitive human type, seems self-evident. It would also appear that the western (African) branch has on the whole preserved more of the original characters than has the eastern (Indo-Oceanic). Both no doubt present in certain groups (Akka, Sakai) an equal degree of prognathism, as well as an equally Simian expression, combined with the normally brachycephalic crania. But the African alone shows the original yellowish complexion, the reddish-brown woolly head, the somewhat hairy body and the extremely low stature, ranging from about 3 ft. 4 in. to a little under 5 ft. Few of the Malaysians fall much below 4 ft. 6 in., while some, such as the Andamanese, rather exceed 5 ft. The color also is described as deep brown or blackish, so that it is not always easy to distinguish between the true Negritos and the Negroes (Papuans, Melanesians) of Oceanica whereas in Africa no doubt ever arises." [1]

The African Pigmies, or Negritos, were recognized in early times, for not only did Homer speak of them, but also their introduction into Egypt during the First Empire is noted. Figures of them, sculptured on the tombs in bas-relief, faithfully reproduce their racial characters. It is recorded in a hieroglyphic inscription that "to him come pigmies of Niam-Niam from the Southern Lands to serve in his household."

AFRICAN NEGRITOS

Physical characters. The height of these people averages about four feet. They have a yellowish-brown complexion, a dolichocephalic head, and short kinky hair, which is scarce on the face and body. The maxillary angle shows a great degree of prognathism, and the supraorbital ridges are prominent. The lips are thick and everted, and the nose is flat, broad, and depressed at the root. The hands and feet are small, the fingers long and narrow, and the nails relatively large.

Life conditions. These Negritos live in the forests of Central Africa. They are entirely a hunting people, moving from place to place in search of game. "In the chase they bound through the tall herbage

[1] A. H. Keane, Ethnology, pp. 242–245.

like grass-hoppers, attacking the elephant and even the buffalo with their tiny arrows and darts." [1] They become so skillful in the use of the bow that they will shoot three or four arrows, one after the other, with such rapidity that the last will have left the bow before the first has reached its goal. If a man misses his mark he will fly into such a violent passion that he is likely to break his bow and arrows.

"Fully occupied in hunting, Pigmies do not cultivate the soil, and for this reason, among others, as is the case with the Eskimo, they stand low in the scale of civilization. Skilful trappers and hunters, they can kill even elephants with their bows and arrows, blinding the animal first by shooting at his eyes. Once he is blind, they never leave him till he falls.

"They are remarkably clever fishermen. With a morsel of meat tied to a piece of string, and without the aid of a hook, they will succeed in landing heavy fish, while less-skilled fishermen, with hooks and lines, may not be able to secure one.

"As a rule the Pigmies take up their abode near a village of some big chief, where they are sure of finding large banana plantations. Though they grow no food of any kind on their own account, they are extremely fond of the unripe long banana, and their method of obtaining this delicacy is simple. On returning from a day's hunting the Pigmy carefully wraps up several small pieces of meat in grass or leaves, betakes himself to the nearest banana plantation, and having selected the bunches of bananas he requires, shins up the tree, cuts down the bunches selected, and in payment affixes one of the small packets of meat to the stem by a little wooden skewer. By this means he satisfies his conscience, and can declare that he has not stolen the bananas, but only bought them, for the Pigmy, as we have seen, is very angry at the merest suggestion of theft.

"Pigmies do no work of any sort or kind, purchasing their arrow-heads, knives, and spears from the neighboring tribes in exchange for meat, or for women whom they have seized in the bush. . . .

"One of the most astonishing characteristics of these strange little people is their abnormal appetite for all sorts of food. Bananas are their chief delight. A Pigmy, I have no hesitation in saying, eats as a rule twice as much as will suffice a full-grown man. He will take a stalk containing about sixty bananas, seat himself and eat them

[1] A. H. Keane, Ethnology, p. 248.

all at a meal — besides other food. Then he will lie and groan throughout the night, until morning comes, when he is ready to repeat the operation. A consequent and characteristic feature of his race is the distended abdomen; but, that considered, it is difficult to imagine where he manages to stow the enormous quantity of food he can consume at a meal. Occasionally, when I have expressed surprise — when, for instance, he has surpassed even himself — he has assumed an uninterested air, as though the matter were merely the most commonplace occurrence in the world, and the question one to be waived.

"'Yes,' he has said carelessly; 'there were a few bananas there on a bunch, and I ate them. I suppose that is what they were there for. There's nothing to be surprised about. I should like some more if there are any to be had.' . . .

"As they have no cooking utensils, all their food is roasted or smoked." [1]

"Their villages, if such they can be called, consist of groups of perhaps thirty small beehive-shaped huts, each about four feet high; the entrance is a small opening a foot and a half high, allowing just room enough for them to creep through. They make beds of sticks driven into the ground at four corners, with other sticks placed across, the whole being raised a few inches from the floor. Each village is under the leadership of a head-man or chief." [2]

Self-gratification. "The dress of the Pigmies is very simple. The men wear a plain strip of cloth round the loins, the women simply a bunch of leaves. They have no ornaments of any kind — a fact which shows their low development, for women as a rule use ornaments as attractions in savage life as well as in civilized. Possibly when the New Pigmy Woman arrives she will introduce necklaces and earrings.

"Musical instruments are unknown to them; even their dancing is conducted without any sweeter sound than the rhythmical tapping of a bow with an arrow. Their whole idea of dancing is to strut round in a circle, with their legs quite stiff, beating time with bow and arrow, as just mentioned, and adding absurd emphasis to the general effect by their set and solemn countenances." [3]

[1] J. G. Burrows, Land of the Pigmies, pp. 187–188, 193–194.
[2] Ibid. p. 182. [3] Ibid. p. 183.

Fighting. In picking out their hunting grounds, the Pigmies show a marked preference for the territories of certain strong tribes and an aversion to the others, within whose confines they are seldom seen.

"They are, indeed, considered as valuable allies whose assistance is worth having against an outside foe; and, in spite of their small numbers, they are feared as well as respected from their revengeful nature and their hardihood in war. They on their part are quite willing to fight loyally for the chief under whose nominal rule they lead their gypsy life, and will remain in his district on these terms as long as relations between themselves and the chief are friendly. Otherwise they abandon their huts and move off at once to the neighborhood of another chief, where they settle afresh and continue to live under a similar tacit agreement.

"They are, however, quite independent, and consider themselves under no obligation to the people of the tribe they may for the time be associated with. Thus they preserve their freedom, of which they are intensely jealous, and hold themselves entirely aloof from other natives, among whom they neither marry nor are given in marriage." [1]

"The Pigmies have a curious method of fighting which I have had occasion to observe several times. A stranger passing through the bush along a track is fair game to them, and they therefore conceal themselves when they hear footsteps approaching. It does not take much covert to hide a Pigmy. As the unsuspecting victim goes by they send their little arrows at him, and, if the shot has told, the Pigmy who has fired jumps up, utters a little cry, and pats his right arm with his left, immediately afterwards diving behind a bush plant or tree trunk. The Pigmies do the same when they are fighting against numbers in regular bush warfare." [2]

THE ANDAMANESE

Physical features. "The Andamanese . . . inhabit the Andaman Islands in the Bay of Bengal. Their head hair is extremely frizzly [woolly], fine in texture, lustreless and seldom more than two or three inches long, or five inches when untwisted, its colour varies between black, greyish black, and sooty, the last perhaps predomi-

[1] J. G. Burrows, Land of the Pigmies, pp. 178–179. [2] Ibid. p. 195.

nating. Hair only occasionally grows on the face and then but scantily. There is little or no hair over the surface of the body. The skin has several shades of colour between bronze or dark copper, sooty, and black, the predominating colour being a dull leaden hue like that of a black-leaded stove."[1] The average stature of these people is about 4 feet $10\frac{3}{4}$ inches, and the head is moderately brachycephalic, the average cranial index being about 83. "The

A GROUP OF NATIVES IN THE ANDAMAN ISLANDS

Photograph by E. H. Man. Courtesy of the Royal Anthropological Institute, London

features may be described as face broad at the cheek bones; eyes prominent; nose much sunken at the root, straight and small; lips full but not everted; chin small; the jaws do not project."[2]

Life conditions. The Andamanese cannot strictly be called nomads, for while they do a good deal of wandering in search of food yet they come back at intervals to their temporarily abandoned villages.

"The sea, which washes their coasts, is full of fish, and abounds in turtles; the jungles are filled with wild pigs; the bees furnish abundance of honey. To these three articles of food, which furnish the staple of their diet, are added some mammals and reptiles, more rarely captured, various birds, and several fruits and edible roots. This abundance of wild food readily explains how this population, so

[1] A. F. R. Wollaston, Pigmies and Papuans, p. 305. [2] Ibid. p. 305.

intelligent and industrious, has yet never felt the necessity of domesticating an animal or cultivating a plant; how it does not even know that rude form of gardening and farming met with among its sisters of the continent and of the Eastern archipelagoes." [1]

While these people have fire and use it in cooking and heating, yet they have no way of generating it. In all probability they obtained it originally from a volcano on the island. The people naturally display much care and skill in the measures they adopt for avoiding such inconvenience as might be caused by the extinction of their fires. "Both when encamped and while journeying, the means employed are at once simple and effective. When they all leave an encampment with the intention of returning in a few days, besides taking with them one or more smouldering logs, wrapped in leaves if the weather be wet, they place a large burning log or faggot in some sheltered spot, where, owing to the character and condition of the wood invariably selected on these occasions, it smoulders for several days, and can be easily rekindled when required." [2]

Shelters and encampments. The houses are of three general types. The first is merely a lean-to and is used when only a brief encampment is made, the second is the permanent type, and is made square of trees with a thatch of leaves. The third type is a simplification of the second, and is erected where the stay is longer than a few days but yet is not of sufficient duration to call for a stable hut.

"Permanent encampments vary in size, and consist of several huts, which in all are rarely inhabited by more than 50 to 80 persons, though they are capable of affording accommodation, of a kind, to a much larger number if necessity arise as happens not unfrequently when festive tribal gatherings are arranged in honor of a wedding or other occasion of rejoicing.

"The permanent encampments of the *Âryôto* are established in those sites which offer special advantages for fishing and turtling at all seasons. Wherever there is a fine stretch of sandy beach, with an extensive foreshore, they will be invariably found, for, at such places, throughout the year the women are able at low tide to catch fish in

[1] A. de Quatrefages, The Pigmies, p. 121. By permission of the publishers, D. Appleton and Company, New York.

[2] E. H. Man, "On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands," in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. XII, p. 150.

pools with their hand-nets, and to collect large quantities of shell-fish while, during the flood tides, the men enjoy exceptional facilities for shooting fish and harpooning turtles, etc.

"Although the sites selected for occupation are usually well-sheltered, it is not always found possible in tempestuous weather, even in the dense jungle which covers every portion of their country, to obtain shelter sufficient to allow of their huts being so placed as to

A HUT AND NATIVES, ANDAMAN ISLANDS

Photograph by E. H. Man. Courtesy of the Royal Anthropological Institute, London

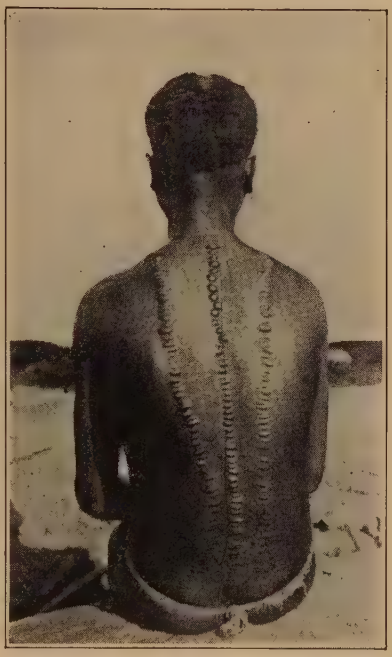
face inwards towards the dancing ground. The primary consideration being naturally to secure as much comfort as possible, the sloping roof is at such times presented towards the prevailing wind." [1]

Marriage. The relationship between the sexes is very similar to that observed among so many savage people. Before marriage absolute freedom exists, provided the men and girls are not related. If a girl is found to be *enceinte* she names the man, if she can, and he will marry her. But it makes little difference whether he is the father of the child or not, provided that he has had connection with her at some time. Seldom does he object to becoming her husband. After the marriage strict chastity is required of both the man and the woman.

[1] E. H. Man, "On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands," in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. XII, pp. 107–108.

Clothing. The children of both sexes are entirely nude, and even the older people wear very little. But what is lacking in actual clothing is made up in ornaments, such as garters, bracelets, and necklaces of bones, wood, or shell. When the men are in full dress they wear branches of leaves attached to their knees and wrists, and a big leaf is bound around the head. Around the waist is worn a belt into which they insert arrows or other objects which they wish to carry. The women wear a small apron of leaves which they will not remove even in the presence of members of their own sex.

"Both sexes tattoo their entire bodies in a very simple way, by little horizontal and vertical incisions in alternating series. The women are generally charged with the operation, and, as an instrument, employ a piece of quartz or glass; but the first three incisions, made low on the back, can be made only by a man, and with an arrow used for hunting wild pigs. Moreover, while these wounds are open, the patient must abstain from the meat of these animals." [1]



A SPECIMEN OF THE TATTOOING OF THE NORTHERN TRIBES, ANDAMAN ISLANDS

This is done by making deep incisions in the flesh and filling them with dirt or ashes. As the wound heals a heavy, permanent scar is formed. (Photograph by E. H. Man. Courtesy of the Royal Anthropological Institute, London)

Religion. The Andamanese believe in a supreme being, Puluga, but the conception of him has been so changed by foreign influences that the early primitive elements have been greatly altered. Besides this god there are numerous others that inhabit the forces of nature and affect man to a greater or less degree.

[1] A. de Quatrefages, The Pigmies, p. 120. By permission of the publishers, D. Appleton and Company, New York.

One of the religious legends of these people is very similar to that of the flood in the Old Testament.

"For a long time men had neglected the observance of Puluga's prescriptions. In his anger the god sent a great flood, which covered the whole earth and destroyed all living things. Two men and two women, who were by chance in a canoe, alone escaped, and were the ancestors of the present islanders. Puluga created anew for them

ANDAMAN PIGMIES

animals of every species, but he neglected to give them fire. Then it was that one of their deceased friends, touched by their distress, went to seek a brand at the very hearth of God. Shortly after, the last interview between Puluga and men took place. The god declared to them that the deluge was a punishment for their disobedience to his commands, and that they would undergo the same punishment again if they fell once more into the same faults. From that time, the Mincopies [1] say, the prescriptions of Puluga have been carefully observed." [2]

Funerals. "The funeral rites — for it is proper to use this expression — are nearly the same for children as for adults. The former,

[1] Formerly the name applied to the Andamanese.

[2] A. de Quatrefages, The Pigmies, pp. 132–133. By permission of the publishers, D. Appleton and Company, New York.

however, are always buried in the midst of the camp, while the latter are transported to the thickest part of the jungle, where they are either buried, or exposed on a platform built at the bifurcation of two large branches.

"On the death of a child the relatives and friends for hours weep by the little body. Then, as a sign of mourning, they paint themselves from head to foot with a paste of olive-coloured clay.

ANDAMANESE ARCHERS

Photograph by E. H. Man. Courtesy of the Royal Anthropological Institute, London

Moreover, after having their heads shaved, the men put a lump of the same clay just above the forehead, and the women place a similar lump upon the top of the head.

"Eighteen hours are usually taken in making the toilet of the dead. The mother shaves the head and paints it, as well as the neck, wrists, and knees, with ochre and white clay. Then the limbs are folded and wrapped in large leaves held by cords. The father digs the grave under the fireplace in the hut. When everything is ready the parents say a last farewell to their dead by gently blowing two or three times upon his face. Then one finishes the wrapping in leaves, and places the corpse in a sitting position in the grave, which is immediately filled. The fire is lighted again, and the mother places

upon the grave a shell containing a few drops of her own milk, that the *spirit* of her child may quench its thirst. The Mincopies believe, indeed, that one of the two principles which animate the body will haunt for some time its old abode. In order that it may not be troubled, the community leave their camp, after having surrounded the hut, or even the whole village, with a garland of rushes (*ara*), the presence of which informs any visitor that death has stricken one of the inhabitants and that he must depart.

"During the period of mourning the village is abandoned. At the end of about three months they return, the funeral garland is removed, and the body exhumed. The father gathers the bones, cleans them carefully, and divides them into small fragments suitable for use in necklaces. The skull is carefully painted yellow, and covered again with a sort of network ornamented by little shells, and the mother puts it on a string around her neck. After a few days the father in his turn wears the relic. The other bones are used to make necklaces, which the parents distribute among their friends as souvenirs. At the same time the lump of clay, which was worn until then as a sign of mourning, is removed, and the usual painting and ornaments are resumed.

"However, all the ceremonies are not yet accomplished. On a day agreed upon, the friends of the family gather about the hut. The father, holding in his arms the children left to him, chants some ancient song, the refrain of which is taken up by the women, while all assistants express their sympathy by noisy lamentations. Then the parents, after having executed the *dance of tears*, retire to their hut, while the dance goes on for several hours longer." [1]

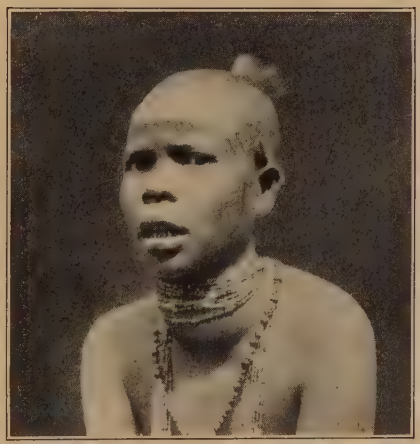
Regulative organization. "Each tribe comprises inhabitants of the coast, and inhabitants of the interior, forming two great divisions, each having a great chief independent of the other. These two divisions are again divided into an indefinite number of little groups or communities of from twenty to fifty individuals, each with a secondary chief, who recognises the authority of the principal chief. But this authority does not amount to very much. Its privileges consist mainly in regulating the movements of the tribe or group and in or-

[1] A. de Quatrefages, The Pigmies, pp. 106–107. By permission of the publishers, D. Appleton and Company, New York.

ganising their assemblies and feasts. Moreover, neither the great nor the secondary chief can punish or reward. Their influence, then, is entirely moral; but, for all that, it is none the less real and considerable, principally over the young unmarried men, who zealously serve the chiefs and do their hardest work for them. The office of chief is elective, but generally passes from father to son if the son has the desirable qualities." [1]

NEGRITOS OF THE MALAY PENINSULA

Physical features. "The Semang, who are the Negritos of the Malay Peninsula, live in the central portion of the Peninsula. The hair of the head is short, universally woolly and black, and is scant on the face and body. The skin is a dark chocolate brown. The height is about five feet; the skull is mesocephalic with a cephalic index of 79. The face is round, the forehead rounded, narrow and projecting, or, as it were, 'swollen,' the nose short and flattened, the nostrils much distended, the breadth remarkably great." [2] The cheek bones are broad, the jaws are very prognathous, and the lips are thick. The whole mouth region seems to project from the lower edge of the nose.



A NEGRITO WOMAN, MALAY PENINSULA

Courtesy of the Field Museum of Natural History

Life conditions. The state of civilization to which these people have attained is very low. "They neither plant nor have they any manufactures except their rude bamboo and rattan vessels, the fish and game traps which they set with much skill, and the bows, blow-pipes (in which they use poisoned

[1] A. de Quatrefages, The Pigmies, p. 98. By permission of the publishers, D. Appleton and Company, New York.

[2] A. F. R. Wollaston, Pigmies and Papuans, p. 306.

A NEGRITO MAKING FIRE, MALAY PENINSULA
Courtesy of the Field Museum of Natural History

darts), and bamboo spears with which they are armed. They are skilful hunters, however, catch fish by ingeniously constructed traps, and live almost entirely on jungle-roots and the produce of their hunting and fishing." [1]

"The Semang construct bee-hive and long communal huts and weather screens similar to those of the Andamanese. They also erect tree shelters, but direct evidence is very scanty that pure Semang inhabit huts with a flooring raised on piles; they sleep on bamboo platforms." [2]

A NEGRITO WOMAN MAKING A HEAD BAND, MALAY PENINSULA
Courtesy of the Field Museum of Natural History

NEGRITOS OF THE PHILIPPINES

Physical features. "The Aeta live in the mountainous districts of the larger islands and in some of the smaller islands of the Philippines. It is convenient to retain this name for the variously named groups of Philippine Negritos, many of whom show admixture with other peoples." [3]

The height of these people averages about 4 feet 9½ inches, the color of the skin is a dark chocolate brown, the head is brachycephalic with an index of 82.2, the hair is woolly and the adult males have a slight beard, but there is not much hair on the body. The nose is

[1] H. C. Clifford, in the Encyclopædia Britannica under "Malay Peninsula."
[2] A. F. R. Wollaston, Pigmies and Papuans, p. 316. [3] Ibid. p. 306.

broad, flat, and depressed at the roots; the nostrils are invariably visible from the front. The eyes are round and set far apart, the lips are thick and everted but not protruding, and the upper lip has the same convexity as is seen in the Negritos of the Malay Peninsula. The arms are disproportionately long and the lower extremities are slender.

Numbers. "The number of Negritos in the Philippines can hardly exceed 25,000, and it is constantly diminishing from purely natural causes. In many regions their birth rate is known to be materially below their death rate, and in my opinion they must be regarded as a 'link' which is not now missing, but soon will be. Within my recollection they have disappeared from Cebu, Masbate, and Sibuyan. At last accounts but 14 individuals remained in Tablas, where they were formerly numerous.

"Statements to the effect that Negritos build houses in trees are, so far as my personal observation and information go, without foundation in fact." [1]

A NEGRITO WOMAN WITH HER BABY AND A MONKEY, PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

Courtesy of the Philadelphia Commercial Museum

Life conditions. The Negritos are essentially a wild and nomadic people living almost entirely on the vegetation of the forests and on the fish and game which they catch. The dog is their only domesticated animal, although around a good many of their encampments there are found a few half-wild chickens. Some few of these people have been known to plant corn and rice, but it is an uncommon occurrence.

[1] D. C. Worcester, "Head Hunters of Northern Luzon," in the *National Geographic Magazine* (September, 1912), Vol. XXIII, p. 849.

Houses. "The tiny settlements which we have visited were abandoned very hastily, but it was easy to obtain complete inventories of the property of their owners, which, even to the bows and arrows, was often left behind. The 'houses' were constructed by covering small rectangular frameworks of pole with a thin thatch of rattan leaves and grass. Each shelter thus made was inclined toward the

PHILIPPINE NEGRITOS AND THEIR HOUSE

Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York

sun, or wind or rain, and was held in a slanting position by a stick sharpened at one end and forked at the other, the sharpened end being pushed into the ground and the forked end placed against the shelter at or near its central point.

"The smallest of these structures measured about four feet by five, the largest some eight feet by six. Hanging from them, or placed under them, were a few cocoanut shells; an occasional earthen pot, usually broken; fish lines equipped with stone sinkers and with bone or steel hooks; an occasional small casting net; a few bits of bark cloth; bows of *Palma brava*; arrows with heads of

Palma brava, bamboo, or, more rarely, of steel; a few rude *bolos*; scraps of cheap cotton cloth, and nothing more!"[1]

Clothes and body decorations. "The men wear small clouts, and the women wear short skirts reaching from the waist to the knee. They are very fond of brightly colored cloth, scarlet being preferred, but the individuals who cannot get cloth, and there are many such, use instead the so-called 'bark cloth' so widely employed by inhabitants of the islands of the Pacific. Men frequently shave the crowns of their heads in order to let the heat out! . . .

"They do not tattoo their bodies, but ornament them with scar patterns, produced by cutting through the skin with sharp pieces of bamboo and rubbing dirt into the wounds thus formed in order to infect them and make good big scars!"[2]

A PHILIPPINE NEGRITO WOMAN WITH POINTED TEETH

Courtesy of the Philadelphia Commercial Museum

"Many of the Negritos point their front teeth, but not by filing them, as is commonly supposed. A chip of wood is held behind the tooth to be operated upon; the point of a bolo is placed in such a position as to slant across the corner of the tooth to be removed, and a sharp blow on the bolo chips a piece from the tooth. The opposite corner is similarly operated upon, and an artistic point is thus produced!"

Music. "The music and dancing of the Negritos are especially interesting. Many of them know how to make and to play both the bamboo nose-flute and a kind of jews'-harp made from bamboo. Some of them use crude stringed instruments fashioned from single joints of bamboo, the strings being cut from the outer layer of wood,

[1] D. C. Worcester, "Head Hunters of Northern Luzon," in the *National Geographic Magazine* (September, 1912), Vol. XXIII, p. 841.

[2] Ibid. pp. 838–841. [3] Ibid. p. 847.

to which their ends remain attached, and being raised up by means of 'bridges.' The distribution of the several kinds of musical instruments above mentioned is more or less local, but the bronze tom-tom, or 'gansa,' is in universal use; some Negritos play it with a drumstick, while others beat it with their hands. Many

PHILIPPINE NEGRITO BOYS

Courtesy of the Philadelphia Commercial Museum

of their dances are pantomimic. Their singing is often weird in the extreme. It would be idle to attempt to describe it; only phonographic records could do it partial justice."[1]

Dances. "There are many stories current to the effect that Negritos are often to be met with wandering through the forest in a state of absolute nudity, and that they indulge in various obscene dances. I am satisfied that the former series of tales are without foundation in fact. Objectionable dances are very rare among the

[1] D. C. Worcester, "Head Hunters of Northern Luzon," in the *National Geographic Magazine* (September, 1912), Vol. XXIII, p. 847.

wild peoples of the Philippines, although they are sometimes indulged in by the Moros, and are common among the Manobos of Mindanao. One apparently credible witness, who was a surgeon in the United States Army, informed me that he had once witnessed such a dance among the Negritos in the wildest part of the Zambales Mountains. I have never observed anything of the sort, nor do I believe that such dances occur with any degree of frequency among these peoples." [1]

Head-hunting. "Curiously enough, the head-hunting peoples of the Philippines are apparently limited to northern Luzon. None of the warlike hill tribes inhabiting other parts of the archipelago are known to take the heads of their victims.

PHILIPPINE NEGRITOS MAKING FIRE BY RUBBING PIECES OF BAMBOO TOGETHER

Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York

"The explanation of their head-hunting customs which is given by the Negritos of northeastern Luzon is very simple. They believe that each family must take at least one head per year or suffer misfortune in the form of sickness, wounds, starvation, or death. Their victims are always beheaded with bolos. Heads are buried in the ground under the 'houses' of the men who take them. Plates, or ollas, are placed over the spots where the heads are buried, and possibly contain offerings to evil spirits. The houses under which heads are buried are then abandoned and their supposedly fortunate owners look forward to a period free from death, sickness, or injury, and to success in their hunting and fishing." [2]

[1] D. C. Worcester, "Head Hunters of Northern Luzon," in the *National Geographic Magazine* (September, 1912), Vol. XXIII, pp. 847–849.

[2] Ibid. pp. 849–850.

PIGMIES OF NEW GUINEA

Physical features. The stature of these people averages about 4 feet 9 inches, the skin is a light brown, and the cephalic index is 79.5. The hair is short, woolly, and black, with a good deal on the face and a short, downy hair scattered over the body. The nose is straight with wide nostrils; the eyes are large and round. "Their prognathism and deeply lined faces give them an ape-like appearance." [1]

NEW GUINEA NEGRITO WOMEN AND CHILD

Photograph by M. W. Stirling, chief of the Bureau of American Ethnology

Life conditions. The Pigmies of New Guinea are entirely a hunting people, but conditions for carrying this on are so favorable that they remain in one spot for a long period. They do, however, cultivate tobacco, which they not only smoke but also use for trade with other tribes.

Houses. "The houses are scattered about over three or four acres of steeply sloping ground, from which most of the trees have been cleared. Between the houses the ground has been leveled in three places to form almost level terraces, measuring about fifteen by five yards, completely cleared of vegetation and covered with small stones. These terraces are held up on the lower side by logs and stumps of trees, and the labour of making them by people whose only tools are stone axes and pieces of wood is difficult to imagine; they are used, so far as we could understand, for dances and other ceremonies.

"The houses are greatly superior to those of the Mimika Papuans, from which they differ in every respect. They are built on piles, which raise the floor of the house from four to ten feet above the ground according to the steepness of the slope underneath. The walls are made of long laths of split wood with big sheets of bark fastened

[1] A. H. Keane, Ethnology, p. 261.

on to the outside. The roof is a fairly steep pitched angular structure of split wood covered with over-lapping leaves of the Fan-palm. The floor is made like the walls and covered with large sheets of bark; in the middle of the floor is a square sunken box filled with sand or earth in which a fire is kept burning, and over the fire, hanging from the roof, is a simple rack, on which wood is placed to dry. The house consists of one nearly square compartment, measuring about ten feet in each direction. The way of entering is by a steep ladder made of two posts tied closely together, which leads to a narrow platform or balcony in front of the front wall of the house. There are no notches on the posts, but the lashings of rattan, which tie them together, answer the purpose of steps or rungs for the feet."[1]

Fire. "By far the most interesting of the possessions of these people is the apparatus for making fire, which consists of three different parts, the split stick, the rattan, and the tinder. The split stick is a short stick of wood an inch or so in diameter, which is split at one end and is held open by a small pebble placed between the split halves. The rattan is a long piece of split rattan wound upon itself into a neatly coiled ring, and the tinder is usually a lump of the fibrous sheath of a palm shoot and sometimes a piece of dried moss.

"The method of making fire is as follows: In the split of the stick, between the stone which holds the split ends apart and the solid stick, is placed a small fragment of tinder. The operator — if one may use so modern a word in describing so ancient a practice — places the stick upon the ground and secures the solid, that is, the unsplit end with his foot. Then, having unwound about a yard of the rattan, he holds the coil in one hand and the free end in the other and looping the middle of it underneath the stick at the point where the tinder is placed he proceeds to saw it backwards and forwards with extreme rapidity. In a short space of time, varying from ten to thirty seconds, the rattan snaps and he picks up the stick with the tinder, which has probably by this time begun to smoulder, and blows it into a flame. At the point where the rattan rubs on the stick a deep cut is made on the stick and at each successive use the stick is split a little further down and the rattan is rubbed a little further back, so that a well-used fire-stick is marked with a number of dark burnt rings."[2]

[1] A. F. R. Wollaston, Pigmies and Papuans, pp. 204–205.

[2] Ibid. pp. 200–201.

Ornaments. "Their ornaments are few and simple; a number of men wear arm-bands and leg-bands of plaited fibre similar to those worn by the Papuans, and several of them wear necklaces of seeds, short pieces of bamboo, scraps of broken shell, teeth of wallabies and (in one instance) the bones of a small mammal. The lobes of both ears are pierced and a few men wear in one ear an ornament made of a small piece of gourd to which are attached seeds, scraps of fur, claws of birds and other ornamental odds and ends. One young man, with more originality than the rest, thrust through his front hair a piece of sharpened bone, which projected downwards over his face and gave him a most distinguished appearance." [1]

[1] A. F. R. Wollaston, Pigmies and Papuans, p. 199.

THE BROWN RACE

CHAPTER XII

THE DYAKS AND SOME OTHER TRIBES OF BORNEO

Environment. "Borneo is one of the largest islands in the world. Its area is roughly 290,000 square miles, or about five times that of England and Wales. Its greatest length from northeast to southwest is 830 miles, and its greatest breadth is about 600 miles. It is crossed by the equator a little below its center, so that about two-thirds of its area lies in the northern and one-third lies in the southern hemisphere. Although surrounded on all sides by islands of volcanic origin, Borneo differs from them in presenting but few cases of volcanic activity."[1]

The general character of the country is mountainous, but there are a few peaks that rise above ten thousand feet. "In almost all parts of the island the land adjoining the coast is a low-lying, swampy belt consisting of alluvium brought down by the many rivers from the central highlands. This belt of alluvium extends inland in many parts for fifty miles or more, and is especially extensive in the south and southeast.

"Between the swampy coast belt and the mountains intervenes a zone of very irregular hill country, of which the average height above the sea level is about one thousand feet, with occasional peaks rising to five or six thousand feet or more.

"There seems good reason to believe that at a comparatively recent date Borneo was continuous with the main land of Asia, forming its southeastern extremity. Together with Sumatra and Java it stands upon a submarine bank, which is nowhere more than one hundred fathoms below the surface, but which plunges down to a very much greater depth along a line a little east of Borneo.

"The climate of the whole island is warm and moist and very equable. The rainfall is copious at all times of the year, but is

[1] C. Hose and W. McDougall, The Pagan Tribes of Borneo, Vol. I, p. 1. Reprinted by permission of the publishers, The Macmillan Company.

rather heavier during the prevalence of the northeast monsoon in the months from October to February, and least during the months of April and May." [1]

Inhabitants. "It is not improbable that at one time Borneo was inhabited by people of the negrito race, small remnants of which race are still to be found in islands adjacent to all the coasts of Borneo as well as in the Malay Peninsula. No communities of the race exist in the island at the present time; but among the people of the

A GROUP OF NATIVES, BORNEO

Courtesy of the Philadelphia Commercial Museum

northern districts individuals may occasionally be met with whose hair and facial characters strongly suggest an infusion of negrito or negroid blood.

"It is probable that the mixed race of Hindu-Javanese invaders who occupied the southern coasts of Borneo some centuries ago became blended with the indigenous population, and that a considerable portion of their blood still runs in the veins of some of the tribes of the southern districts.

"Among the Mohammedans, who are found in all the coast regions of Borneo, there is a considerable number of persons who claim Arab forefathers; and there can be no doubt that the introduction

[1] C. Hose and W. McDougall, The Pagan Tribes of Borneo, Vol. I, pp. 1 ff. Reprinted by permission of the publishers, The Macmillan Company.

of the Mohammedan religion was largely due to Arab traders, and that many Arabs and their half-breed descendants have held official positions under the Sultans of Bruni.

"With the exception of certain of the immigrants and their descendants, the population of Borneo may be described as falling into two great classes; namely, those who have accepted, nominally at least, the Mohammedan religion and civilization, and those who are pagans. All of these pagan tribes have often been classed indiscriminately under the name of Dyaks, though many groups may be clearly distinguished from one another by differences of culture, belief and custom, and peculiarities of their physical and mental constitutions.

"The Mohammedan population, being of very heterogeneous ethnic composition, and having adopted culture of foreign origin, which may be better studied in other regions of the earth, where the Malay type and culture are more truly indigenous, it seems to us to be of secondary interest to the anthropologist as compared with the less cultured tribes." [1]

Physical characteristics. The Dyaks belong to the brown race. They average about 5 feet 3 inches in height. Most of them, during their early age, are very well but sparely built, and the body seems in perfect proportion. The skull is dolichocephalic, the hair is long, curly, and black, the cheek bones are high, the nose is flat but not so flat as the negro's, and the bridge of the nose is depressed. The mouth is large and the lips are protruding. The faces of the women are rounder than those of the men; but both sexes have a quite Mongolian cast of countenance.

Character. The Dyaks may be ranked above the Malays in mental capacity, while in moral character they are undoubtedly superior to them. They are simple, honest, and truthful to a remarkable degree and become the prey of the Malay and Chinese traders, who cheat and plunder them continually. They are more lively, more talkative, less secretive, and less superstitious than the Malays and are, therefore, pleasanter companions. Many travelers who have made a close study of these people maintain that, so far as they know, none of their property has been stolen by the natives on the trips through the country. Even among themselves "dishonesty in

[1] C. Hose and W. McDougall, The Pagan Tribes of Borneo, Vol. I, pp. 28ff. Reprinted by permission of the publishers, The Macmillan Company.

the form of pilfering or open robbery by violence are of very rare occurrence. Yet temptations to both are not lacking. Fruit trees on the river bank, even at some distance from any village, are generally private property and though they offer great temptation to passing crews when their fruit is ripe, the rights of the proprietor are usually respected or compensation voluntarily paid. Theft within the house or village is practically unknown."[1]

These people are temperate in food and drink, and the gross sensuality of the Chinese and Malay is unknown among them. One of the worst features in connection with the Dyak character is that of temper. The people are sulky, obstinate, and sullen when put out or corrected, and they are exceedingly apathetic; nor does there appear any inclination on their part to rise above their low and degraded condition.

A GROUP OF WOMEN, BORNEO
Courtesy of the Philadelphia Commercial Museum

"The Dyaks are not coarse of speech and both men and women are strictly modest in regard to the display of the body. Though the costume of both sexes is so scanty the proprieties are observed. The bearing of the women is habitually modest and though their single garment might be supposed to afford insufficient protection, they wear it with a habitual skill that compensates for the scantiness of its dimensions."[2]

"On the whole few if any gross vices are practiced among them and if committed they are single acts perpetrated by individuals and not by the mass of the people. It must be confessed that their morals, both before and after marriage, are somewhat loose, though seldom depraved. They are cheerful, patient, gentle and often re-

[1] C. Hose and W. McDougall, The Pagan Tribes of Borneo, Vol. II. p. 201. Reprinted by permission of the publishers, The Macmillan Company. [2] Ibid. pp. 201, 202.

markably forbearing of injury and above all exceedingly kind to their aged and infirm relatives and especially loving to their children, though out of the pale of the family there is little charity shown."[1]

Self-maintenance. *Agriculture.* Most of the people in the interior of Borneo grow rice, or *padi*, which is the principal foodstuff. "Throughout the year, except during the few weeks when the jungle fruit is most abundant, rice forms the bulk of every meal. In years of bad harvest, when the supply is deficient, the place of rice has to be filled as well as may be with wild sago, cultivated maize, tapioca and sweet potatoes. . . .

"The cultivator has to contend with many difficulties, for in the moist, hot climate weeds grow apace and the fields being closely surrounded by virgin forests are liable to attacks of pests of many kinds. Hence the processes by which the annual crop of padi is obtained demand the best efforts and care of all the people of each village. . . .

"The preparation of the land is everywhere very crude, consisting in the felling of the timber and undergrowth and in burning as completely as possible so that those ashes enrich the soil. After a single crop has been grown and gathered on the land so cleared the weeds grow up very quickly and there is, of course, in the following year no possibility of repeating the dressing of wood ashes in the same way. Hence it is the universal practice to allow the land to lie fallow for at least two years after a single crop has been raised, while crops are raised from other lands. During the fallow period the jungle grows up so rapidly and thickly that by the third year the weeds have almost died out, choked by the larger growth. The same land is then prepared again by felling the young jungle and burning it as before and a crop is again raised from it.

"Each family cultivates its own patch of land, selecting it by arrangement with other families, and works as large an area as the strength and number in the roomhold permits. A hillside that slopes down to the bank of a river or navigable stream is considered the choicest area for cultivation, partly because the felling is easier on the slope and because the stream affords easy access to the field.

"When an area has been chosen, the men of the roomhold first cut down the undergrowth of a V-shaped area, whose apex points

[1] H. L. Roth, Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo, Vol. I, pp. 65 ff.

up the hill, and whose base lies on the river bank. This done, they call in the help of other men of the house, usually relatives who are engaged in preparing adjacent areas, and all set to work to fell the large trees. In the clearing of virgin forests when very large trees, many of which have at their bases immense buttresses, have to be felled, a platform of light poles is built around each of these giants to the height of about 15 feet. Two men standing upon this rude platform on opposite sides of the stem attack it with their small springy-hafted axes above the level of the buttresses. One man cuts a deep notch on the side facing up the hill, the other cuts a similar notch about a foot lower down on the opposite side, each cutting almost to the centre of the stem. This operation is accomplished in a surprisingly short time, perhaps thirty minutes in the case of a stem two or three feet in diameter. When all the large trees within the V-shaped area have been cut in this way, all the workers and any women, children or dogs who may be present are called out of the patch, and one or two big trees, carefully selected to form the apex of the phalanx, are then cut so as to fall down the hill. In their fall these giants throw down the trees standing immediately below them on the hillside; these falling in turn against their neighbours, bring them down. And so, like an avalanche of widening sweep, the huge disturbance propagates itself with a thunderous roar and increasing momentum downwards over the whole of the prepared area; while puny man looks on at the awful work of his hand and brain not unmoved, but dancing and shouting in wild triumphant delight.

"The fallen timber must now lie some weeks before it can be burned. This period is mainly devoted to making and repairing implements to be used in cultivating, harvesting and storing the crops and also in sowing, at the earliest possible moment, small patches of early or rapidly growing padi together with a little maize, sugar cane, some sweet potatoes and tapioca."[1]

After the *padi* is sown, the men build in each patch a small hut, which is occupied by most of the able-bodied members of the room-hold until the harvest is completed. "They erect contrivances for scaring away the birds; they stick bamboos about eight feet in

[1] C. Hose and W. McDougall, The Pagan Tribes of Borneo, Vol. I, pp. 97–101. Reprinted by permission of the publishers, The Macmillan Company.

length upright in the ground every 20 to 30 yards. Between the upper ends of these, rattans are tied, connecting together all the bamboos on each area of about one acre. The field of one roomhold is generally about four acres in extent; there will thus be four groups of bamboos, each of which can be agitated by pulling on a single rattan. From each such group a rattan passes to the hut, and some person, generally a woman or child, is told off to tug at these rattans in turn at short intervals. Upon the rattans between the bamboos are hung various articles calculated to make a noise or to flap to and fro when the system is set in motion. Sometimes the rattan by which the system of poles is set in movement is tied to the upper end of a tall sapling one end of which is thrust deeply into the mud of the floor of the river. The current then keeps the sapling and with it the system of bamboos swaying and jerking to and fro.

"It is the duty of the women to prevent the padi being choked by weeds. The women of each room go over each patch completely at least twice at intervals of about one month hoeing down the weeds with a short-handled hoe. The hoe consists of a flat blade projecting at right angles from the iron haft." [1]

After the *padi* is brought in from the fields, the women pound it and winnow it and finally put it into form to be consumed. While the women are doing this, the men are out hunting for the wild pig, the monkey, or the porcupine, or are on a fishing expedition.

Fishing. "The fish are caught in the rivers in several ways, and form an important part of the diet of most of the peoples. Perhaps the cast net is most commonly used. This net is used both in deep and shallow water. In the former case one man steers and paddles the boat while the other stands at the prow with the cord of the net wound about the right hand.

"The bulk of the net is gathered up on his right arm, the free end is held in the left hand. Choosing a still pool, some two fathoms in depth, he throws a stone into the water a little ahead of the boat, in the expectation that the fish will congregate about the spot as they do when fruit falls from the trees on the banks. Then, as the boat approaches the spot he deftly flings the net so that it falls spread out upon the surface; its weighted edge then sinks rapidly to the bot-

[1] C. Hose and W. McDougall, The Pagan Tribes of Borneo, Vol. I, pp. 97 ff., 103. Reprinted by permission of the publishers, The Macmillan Company.

tom, enclosing any fish that may be beneath the net. If only small fish are enclosed, the net is twisted as it is drawn up, the fish becoming entangled in its meshes, and in pockets formed about its lower border. If a large fish is enclosed, the steersman will dive overboard and seize the lower part of the net so as to secure the fish. . . .

Jungle products. "The principal natural products gathered by the people in addition to the edible fruits are: gutta-percha, rubber and camphor. Small parties of men and boys go out into the jungle in search of these things, sometimes traveling many days up river before striking into the jungle; for it is only in the drier upland forests that such expeditions can be undertaken with advantage. The party may remain several weeks or months from home. They carry with them a supply of rice, salt and tobacco, cooking-pots and matches, a change of raiment, spears, swords, shields, blowpipes and perhaps two or three dogs. On striking into the jungle, they drag their boat on to the bank and leave it hidden in the thick undergrowth. While in the jungle they camp in rude shelters roofed with their leaf mats and with palm leaves, moving camp from time to time. They vary their labours and supplement their food supply by hunting and trapping. Such an expedition is generally regarded as highly enjoyable as well as profitable. . . .

"Valuable varieties of gutta-percha are obtained from trees of more than a score of species. The trees are felled and the stem and branches are ringed at intervals of about 18″, a narrow strip of bark being removed at each ring. The milky, viscid sap drips out into leaf-cups, which are then emptied into a cylindrical vessel of bark. Water is then boiled in a large pan beside the tree. A little common salt is added to the water and the gutta is poured into the boiling water, when it rapidly congeals. Then while it is in a semi-viscid state it is kneaded with the feet and pressed into a shallow wooden frame which is in turn compressed between two planks." [1]

It is then cut up into slabs about a foot long and one and one-half inches thick and sent to the market at Singapore, where it sells for about five hundred dollars the hundredweight.

Camphor also is collected in great quantities by certain peoples in Borneo. This product is formed in the crevices of old trees. The

[1] C. Hose and W. McDougall, The Pagan Tribes of Borneo, Vol. I, pp. 149–150, 151. Reprinted by permission of the publishers, The Macmillan Company.

tree is cut down, the stem split up, and the crystalline scales of pure camphor are shaken out onto mats. It is then made up into little bundles and wrapped in palm leaves. The large-flaked camphor brings as much as thirty dollars a pound in the Chinese bazaar. Before a party starts out to collect the camphor, omens are taken to find out whether the expedition will be a success or not. If they find that the omens are unfavorable, they will postpone the trip.

Iron. One of the great handicrafts of these people is the working of iron. At the present day they obtain most of their iron in the form of bars imported from Europe and distributed by the Chinese and Malay traders. But thirty years ago nearly all the iron ore came from the beds of the rivers, and possibly from masses of meteoric iron.

Smelting of the ore is performed in a clay crucible embedded in a pile of charcoal. The ignited charcoal is blown to a white heat by the aid of bellows consisting of wooden cylinders made from the stem of the wild sago palm. At the bottom of the cylinder is a small hollow tube. A piston is worked by a man standing on a platform raised three or four feet above the ground. "The piston consists of a stout stick bearing at its lower end a bunch of feathers large enough to fill the bore of the cylinder. When the piston is thrust downward it drives the air before it to the furnace; as it is drawn upwards the feathers collapse allowing the entrance of air from above." [1]

Boats. Boats are used by nearly all the peoples of Borneo as the sole means of transportation. These boats are made from logs hollowed out, and are sometimes as long as a hundred and fifty feet. The trees for these boats are felled in the forest, dragged to the river, and floated down to the village during flood-time. They are moored to the shore, so that when the flood recedes they are left on dry land. A hut is built over them to protect the workers from the heat of the sun. The boats are hollowed out by means of axes and through the use of fire and water. "The whole operation, like every other important undertaking, is preceded by the finding of omens and it is liable to be postponed by the observation of ill omens, by bad dreams or by any misfortunes such as death in the house." [2]

Houses. "The houses in which the Borneo people live are the outcome of a life of constant apprehension of attack from head-

[1] C. Hose and W. McDougall, The Pagan Tribes of Borneo, Vol. I, p. 194. Reprinted by permission of the publishers, The Macmillan Company. [2] Ibid. p. 202.

hunters. In union alone is strength. Surrounded by a dense jungle which affords, night and day, up to the very steps to their homes, a protecting cover for enemies, the Borneans live, as it were, in fighting trim, with their backs to a hollow square. A village of scattered houses would mean the utmost danger to those on the outskirts; consequently, houses which would ordinarily form a village have been crowded together until one roof covers them all. The rivers and streams are the only thoroughfares in the island, and village houses are always built close to the river-banks, so that boats can

A DYAK HOUSE ON THE RIVER, BORNEO
Courtesy of the Philadelphia Commercial Museum

be quickly reached; this entails another necessity in the construction of the houses. The torrents during the rainy season, which, on the western half of the island, last from October till February, swell the rivers with such suddenness and to such an extent that in a single night the water will overflow banks thirty feet high, and convert the jungle round about into a soggy swamp; unless the houses were built of stone they would be inevitably swept away by the rush of water; wherefore the natives build on high piles and live above the moisture and decay of the steaming ground.

"Beneath the houses is the storage-place for canoes that are leaky and old, or only half finished and in process of being sprung and spread out into proper shape before being fitted up with gunwales and thwarts. It is generally a very disorderly and noisome place,

where all the refuse from the house is thrown, and where pigs wallow, and chickens scratch for grains of rice that fall from the husking mortars in the veranda overhead. Between the houses and the river's bank — a distance of a hundred yards, more or less — the jungle is cleared away, and in its place are clumps of cocoanut, or Areca palms, and, here and there, small storehouses, built on piles, for rice. In front of the houses of the Kayans there are sure to be one or two forges, where the village blacksmiths, makers of spear-heads, swords, hoes and axes, hold an honorable position. In the shade of the palms, the boat-builders' sheds protect from the scorching heat of the sun the great logs that are being scooped out to form canoes; the ground is covered with chips, from which arises a sour, sappy odor that is almost pungent and is suggestive of all varieties of fever, but is really quite harmless. In the open spaces tall, reedy grass grows, and after hard rains, a misstep, from the logs forming a pathway, means to sink into black, oozy mud up to the knees.

"Just on the bank of the river there are usually four or five posts, about eight feet high, roughly carved at the top to represent a man's head; these have been put up after successful head-hunting raids, and on them are tied various fragments of the enemy — a rib, or an arm, or a leg bone; these offerings drive away the evil Spirits who might wish to harass the inmates of the house, and they also serve as a warning to enemies who may be planning an attack. Such remnants of the enemy are held by no means in the same veneration with which the heads, hung up in the house, are regarded; after the bits of flesh and bone are tied to the posts they are left to the wind and rain, the pigs and chickens.

"Some years ago it was the custom before building a house to thrust into the first excavation, wherein the heavy corner post was to rest, a young slave girl alive, and the mighty post was then planted on her body, crushing out her life, as a propitiatory offering to the demons that they should not molest the dwelling. This custom has now been abolished and instead of a girl, a pig or a fowl has been substituted.

"The veranda, or main street, of these houses is where all public life goes on; here, in the smoky atmosphere that pervades the place, councils of war and peace are held, feasts spread, and a large part of the daily work performed. It is seldom a very bright or cheery

place; the eaves come down so low that the sunlight penetrates only at sunrise and sunset, and the sooty smoke from the fires turns all the woodwork to a sombre mahogany hue. The floor is usually of broad, hewn planks, loosely laid upon the joists, with little care whether they fit close or warp and bend up out of shape, leaving wide cracks through which a small child might fall; they show plainly the cuts of the adze, but they soon become polished by the leathery soles of bare feet shuffling over them from dawn till dark. At intervals of perhaps fifty feet are fireplaces — merely shallow boxes about five feet square by six inches deep, filled with flat stones imbedded in clay; herein are built the fires that give light at night and add to sociability at all times; no council or friendly talk is complete without the crackle of a fire to enliven it and to keep away evil Spirits. Of course, no chimney carries off the smoke, which must disperse as best it can among the cobwebby beams overhead, after giving a fresh coat of soot to the row or bunch of trophy-skulls that hangs in the place of honor opposite to the door of the chief's room. The odor of burning resinous wood, mingled with other ingredients, saturates the veranda, and in after-life the smell of musty garret, cedar-wood chests and brush-wood burning in the autumn instantly recalls the veranda of a Borneo log-house. It must be confessed that occasionally there mingles with this aromatic odor a tang of wet dog, wallowing pig and ancient fish, but then, after all, these are not peculiar to Borneo." [1]

Leading from this porch are the rooms belonging to the individual families. It frequently happens that as many as five hundred people occupy one of these houses, and so the number of rooms is often as large as a hundred. These rooms are about twenty-five feet square. In them, along the sides, is a raised platform upon which are erected sleeping closets for the parents or for the grown daughters. Toward the front part of the room is a fireplace made of clay and large flat stones, upon which most of the cooking is done.

"The sleeping closets partitioned off for married couples or for unmarried girls and widows to sleep in are as dark and stuffy as close-fitting planks can make them, and the bed is merely two or three broad and smooth planks whereon a fine rattan matting is spread." [2]

[1] W. H. Furness, The Home Life of the Borneo Head Hunters, pp. 1–5. Reprinted by permission of the publishers, J. B. Lippincott Company. [2] Ibid. p. 10.

Meals. "On all ordinary occasions, the family eat together, usually only twice a day, morning and evening, in the family room. In the centre of the room is placed a large wooden dish piled high with boiled rice and then, as a plate for each member of the family, is set a piece of fresh banana leaf, whereon are a little salt and a small quantity of powdered dried fish, highly odorous; this is the usual bill of fare, but it may be supplemented with a sort of mush or stew of fern-frond sprouts and rice, or with boiled Caladium roots and roasted wild yams. When there is a feast and guests from neighboring houses come to dine, the meals are spread in the veranda and the menu is enlarged with pork and chicken, cooked in joints of bamboo, which have been stoppered at both ends with green leaves, and put in the fire until they are burnt through, when the cooking is done to a turn.

"All hands are plunged into the common dish of plain boiled rice, and it is 'excellent form' to cram and jam the mouth as full as it will hold. It is, however, remarkable how deftly even little children can so manipulate the boiled rice before conveying it to their mouths, that hardly a grain is spilt; it always filled me with shame when dining en famille with the Kayans or Kenyahs to note what a mess of scattered rice I left on the mat at my place, while their places were clean as when they sat down; to be sure, I did not follow my hosts' examples in carefully gathering up and devouring all that had fallen on the unswept floor. Whenever I apologized for my clumsiness, their courtesy was always perfect; the fault was never attributed to me, but rather to their poor food and the manner in which it was served.

"The long intervals between their meals and the unsubstantial quality of their food give them such an appetite and force them to eat so voraciously that the usual welcome by a Kayan host to his guests is, 'Eat slowly,' and this admonition is unfailingly given. They seem to regard their family meals as strictly private, and would always announce to us that they were going to eat — possibly to give us warning not to visit them at that time, and they were also quite as punctilious to leave us the moment that our food was served." [1]

Marriage. "Very few men have more than one wife. Occasionally a chief whose wife has borne him no children during some years of

[1] W. H. Furness, The Home Life of the Borneo Head Hunters, pp. 11–12. Reprinted by permission of the publishers, J. B. Lippincott Company.

married life or has found the labors of entertaining his guests beyond her strength will with her consent or even at her request take a second younger wife. In such a case each wife has her own sleeping apartment within the chief's larger chamber and the younger wife is expected to defer to the older one and to help her in the work of the house and the field. The second wife would be chosen from a rather lower social standing than the first wife, who in virtue of this fact maintains her ascendency more easily." [1]

When a youth desires to marry, he begins by paying attentions to the girl who attracts his fancy. He will frequently be found passing the evening in her company in her parents' room. There he will display his skill with the Jew's-harp or sing the favorite love song of the people, varying the words to suit the occasion. If the girl looks with favor on his attentions, she manages to make the fact known to him by presenting him with a cigarette tied in a certain manner with a banana leaf.

"If his suit makes progress, he may hope that the fair one will draw out with a pair of brass tweezers the hairs of his eyebrows and lashes, while he reclines on his back with his head in her lap. If these hairs are very few, the girl will remark that some one else has been pulling them out, an imputation which he repudiates. Or he complains of a headache, and she administers scalp massage by winding tufts of hair about her knuckles and sharply tugging them. When the courtship has advanced to this stage, the girl may attract her suitor to the room by playing on the Jew's-harp, with which she claims to be able to speak to him — presumably the language of the heart.

"The youth, thus encouraged, may presume to remain beside his sweetheart till early morning, or return to her side when the old people have retired. When the affair has reached this stage, it becomes necessary to secure the public recognition which constitutes the relation a formal betrothal. The man charges some elderly friend of either sex, in many cases his father or mother, to inform the chief of his desire. The latter expresses a surprise which is not always genuine; and, if the match is a suitable one, he contents himself with giving a little friendly advice. But if he is aware of any objections to

[1] C. Hose and W. McDougall, The Pagan Tribes of Borneo, Vol. I, p. 73. Reprinted by permission of the publishers, The Macmillan Company.

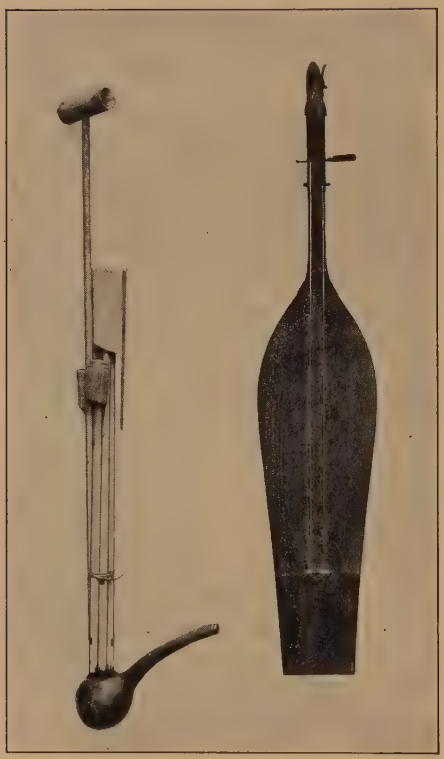
the match he will point them out, and though he will seldom forbid it in direct terms, he will know how to cause the marriage to be postponed.

"If the chief and parents favour the match, the young man presents a brass gong or a valuable bead to the girl's family as a pledge of his sincerity. This is returned to him if for any reason beyond his control the match is broken off. The marriage may take place with very little delay; but during the interval between betrothal and marriage the omens are anxiously observed and consulted. All accidents affecting any members of the village are regarded as of evil omen, the more so the more nearly the betrothed parties are concerned in them. The cries of birds and deer are important; those heard about the house are likely to be bad omens, and it is sought to compensate for those by sending a man skilled in augury to seek good omens in the jungle, such as the whistle of the Trogan and of the spider-hunter, and the flight of the hawk from right to left high up in the sky. If the omens are persistently and predominantly bad, the marriage is put off for a year, and after the next harvest fresh omens are sought. The man is encouraged in the meantime to absent himself from the village, in the hope that he may form some other attachment. But if he remains true and favourable omens are obtained, the marriage is celebrated if possible at the close of the harvest. If the marriage takes place at any other time, the feast will be postponed to the end of the following harvest. After the marriage the man lives with his wife in the room of his father-in-law for one, two, or at most three years. During this time he works in the fields of the household, showing great deference towards his wife's parents. Before the end of the third year of marriage, the young couple will acquire for themselves a room in the house and village of the husband, in which they set up housekeeping on their own account. In addition to these personal services rendered to the parents of the bride, the man or his father and other relatives give to the girl's parents at the time of the marriage various articles which are valuable in proportion to the social standing of the parties, and which are generally appropriated by the girl's parents." [1]

Adoption. "Adoption is by no means uncommon. The desire for children, especially male children, is general and strong, but sterile

[1] C. Hose and W. McDougall, The Pagan Tribes of Borneo, Vol. I, pp. 74–76. Reprinted by permission of the publishers, The Macmillan Company.

marriages seem to be known among all the peoples. When a woman has remained unfertile for some years after her marriage the couple usually seek to adopt one or more children. They generally prefer children of a relative but may take any child even a captive or slave child, whose parents are willing to resign all rights in it." [1]



DYAK MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

Courtesy of the Field Museum of Natural History

Some of the peoples have a curious symbolic ceremony on adoption of a child. Both man and wife observe for some weeks before the ceremony all the prohibitions usually observed during the latter month of pregnancy. At the time of the ceremony the woman goes through the motions of giving birth to a child, and thus the adopted child becomes an actual member of the family.

Self-gratification. One of the great pleasures of the peoples of Borneo is dancing. At every feast at the conclusion of peace, during every ceremony, there are numerous dances accompanied by singing and playing on the crudest musical instruments. Few of these dances, however, are more than crude, unmeaning steps around the camp fire.

"One warrior is engaged in picking a thorn out of his foot, but is ever on the alert for the lurking enemy with his arms ready at hand. This enemy is at length suddenly discovered, and after some rapid attack and defence, a sudden plunge is made at him and he is dead upon the ground. The taking of his head follows in pantomime. The

[1] C. Hose and W. McDougall, The Pagan Tribes of Borneo, Vol. I, p. 77. Reprinted by permission of the publishers, The Macmillan Company.

last agonies of the dying man were too painful and probably too truthfully depicted to be altogether a pleasant sight. The story then concludes with the startling discovery that the slain man is not an enemy at all but the brother of the warrior who has slain him. At this point the dance gives way to what was perhaps the least pleasing part of the performance — a man in a fit, writhing in frightful convulsions, being charmed into life and sanity by a necromantic physician." [1]

Tattooing. Nearly all the peoples of the island of Borneo tattoo the skin. In many cases the designs are most elaborate and the work occupies weeks and even months. As a rule the design is first carved on wood and then smeared with a sooty preparation and printed on the skin. The figure is then punctured in outline with needles dipped in ink and afterwards filled up in detail. More ink is poured on the skin and allowed to dry. Rice is smeared over the inflamed surface in order to keep it cool; for if this is not done, it is apt to gather and fester. As a rule the hands, feet, and legs are tattooed, although in some cases every portion of the body is decorated. A woman is tattooed on the upper part of the hands and over the whole of each forearm, on both thighs to below the knee, and on the upper part of the feet and toes. All women are expected to be tattooed before they are allowed to marry, but as a rule a man is not tattooed until he has taken a head.

"Of course, the complete pattern on women is never finished at one sitting; it would involve more suffering than can be borne without, perhaps, serious shock; but the martyrdom is often endured for a couple of hours, and then, to fill in chance gaps and weak places, that which has been already pricked in, and is become an exquisitely tender welt, is mercilessly jabbed and hammered over again, not only once but even twice. The instant that the poor wretch of a girl is released from the hands, and toes, of her tormentor, she runs with the swiftness of agony to the river, there to soothe with the cool flowing water the frightful, burning ache. The absorption of so much foreign matter by the lymphatics often induces high fever; suppuration also not infrequently results from the septic manner in which the operation is performed; this naturally injures the sharpness of the lines. After one session, the tattooing is not resumed until the

[1] H. L. Roth, Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo, Vol. I, p. 250.

skin is entirely healed unless an approaching marriage necessitates the utmost speed; should a woman have a child before her tattooing is completed, she is lastingly disgraced. The Kenyah women are tattooed only on the forearms and hands and on the dorsum of the foot, not on the legs or thighs." [1]

Punctured ears. Another means of increasing personal beauty is to puncture the ear lobes and suspend weights upon them so that eventually the lobes hang down to the shoulders. This is begun when a child is two or three years old, by puncturing the ears and introducing several pewter rings. These are gradually increased in number until their weight amounts to five or six ounces, and by the end of the first year the lobe has been lengthened three or four inches. The weights are increased until the lobes are seven or eight inches long and support three pounds of copper rings. It frequently happens that the loop of ear lobe thus formed is sufficiently large and elastic to be slipped over the head.

"The men of these same tribes, although they escape from extreme length of ears, must endure a second mutilation of this appendage. But this time it is in the upper part that a hole is punched, wherein, when they attain to full manhood and have been on a war expedition, there is inserted a tiger-cat's canine tooth decorated at the large end with a tuft of beadwork, or a silver cap, to keep it in place. Before they are entitled to this adornment, the hole, at least half an inch in diameter, is kept open by a simple wooden plug, which is generally worn, even by warriors, except on ceremonial occasions, and especially when in mourning for the dead." [2]

Teeth decoration. Some of the people blacken the teeth, for white teeth are considered a frightful disfigurement; and he or she who for a few days forgets to renew the stain is sure to be jeered at by all companions with the scoffing remark that "white teeth are no better than a dog's."

"Some of the people not content with blackening the teeth actually drill holes through and through the faces of the six front teeth, and therein insert plugs of brass, whereof the outer end is elaborated into stars and crescents. Then they finish up by filing the teeth to sharp

[1] W. H. Furness, The Home Life of the Borneo Head Hunters, p. 153. Reprinted by permission of the publishers, J. B. Lippincott Company. [2] Ibid. p. 155.

points ! No dentist's chair can hold a more hideous torture than this. The drill — usually no more delicate an instrument than the rounded end of a file — bores directly through the sensitive pulp of the tooth, tearing and twisting a nerve so exquisitely sensitive that but to touch it starts the perspiration and seems the limit of human endurance; yet an Iban will lie serene and unquivering on the floor while his beauty is thus enhanced by some kind and tenderhearted friend. Of course, the tooth dies and becomes a mere shell, tanned inside and out by repeated applications of the astringent blackening; the gums recede, exposing the fangs of the teeth and sometimes portions of the alveolar process — I need not add that the mouth of a middle-aged Iban is anything but attractive." [1]

Religion. The spiritual powers or spirits may be regarded as of three principal classes:

"(1). There are the anthropomorphic spirits, thought of as dwelling in remote and vaguely conceived regions and as very powerful to intervene in human life. Towards these the attitude of the Kayans is one of supplication and awe, gratitude and hope, an attitude which is properly called reverential and is the specifically religious attitude. These spirits must be admitted to be gods in a very full sense of the word, and the practices, doctrines, and emotions centered about these spirits must be regarded as constituting a system of religion.

"(2). A second consists of the spirits of living and deceased persons, and of other anthropomorphically conceived spirits which, as regards the nature and extent of their powers, are more nearly on a level with the human spirits than those of the first class. Such are those embodied in the omen animals and in the domestic pig, fowl, dog, in the crocodile, and possibly in the tiger-cat and a few other animals.

"(3). The third class is more heterogeneous, and comprises all the spirits or impalpable intelligent powers that do not fall into one or other of the two preceding classes; such are the spirits very vaguely conceived as always at hand, some malevolent, some good; such also are the spirits which somehow are attached to the heads hung

[1] W. H. Furness, The Home Life of the Borneo Head Hunters, pp. 157–158. Reprinted by permission of the publishers, J. B. Lippincott Company.

up in the houses. The dominant emotion in the presence of these is fear; and the attitude is that of avoidance and propitiation." [1]

There are a large number of gods who guard the lives and interests of these people. The most important of these are the god of war, three gods of life, god of thunder and storms, god of fire, gods of the harvest, god of the lakes and rivers, god of madness, god of fear, and the god who conducts the souls of the dead to Hades.

"The people seem to have no very clear and generally accepted dogmas about these gods. Some assert they dwell in the skies, but others regard them as dwelling below the surface of the earth. The former opinion is in harmony with the practice of erecting a tree before the house with its branches buried in the ground and the root upturned when prayers are made on behalf of the whole house; for the tree seems to be regarded as in some sense forming a ladder or path of communication with the superior powers. The same opinion seems to be expressed in the importance attached to fire and smoke in prayer and ritual. . . .

"While some gods, those of war and life, of harvest and of fire, are distinctly friendly, others, namely, the gods of madness and fear, are terrible and malevolent; while the god of thunder and those that conduct the souls to Hades do not seem to be predominantly beneficient or malevolent." [2]

The spirits of the third type are known as Toh. All the spirits of this class seem to be objects of fear, to be malevolent or at least easily offended and capable of bringing misfortunes upon human beings.

"The Toh play a considerable part in regulating conduct; for they are the powers that bring misfortunes upon a whole house or village when any member of it ignores tabus or otherwise breaks customs, without performing the propitiatory rites demanded by the occasion. Thus on them, rather than on the gods, are founded the effective sanctions of prohibitive rules of conduct. For the propitiation of offended Toh, fowls' eggs and the blood of fowls and of young pigs are used, the explanations and apologies being offered generally by the chief or some other influential person, while the blood is sprinkled on the culprit or other source of offence." [3]

[1] C. Hose and W. McDougall, The Pagan Tribes of Borneo, Vol. II, p. 4. Reprinted by permission of the publishers, The Macmillan Company.

[2] Ibid. pp. 5–6. [3] Ibid. p. 26.

Sickness. The Kayans have various ways of treating disease. "Thus bodily injuries received accidentally or in battle are treated surgically, by keeping splints, bandaging, etc. Familiar disorders such as malarial fever are treated medically, that is by rest and drugs. Cases of severe pain of unknown origin are generally attributed to the malign influence of some Toh and the method is usually that of extraction. Madness also is generally attributed to possession by some Toh, but in cases of severe illness of mysterious origin that seems to threaten to end mortally the theory generally adopted is that the patient's soul has left his body and the treatment indicated is therefore an attempt to persuade the soul to return. The first two modes of treatment are not considered to demand the skill of a specialist for their application, but the third and fourth are undertaken only by those who have special powers and knowledge.

"Among the Kayans the professional soul-catcher, the Dayong, is generally a woman who has served a considerable period of apprenticeship with some older member of the profession, after having been admonished to take up this calling by some being met with in dreams, often a dream experienced during sickness. If the Dayong decides that the soul of the patient has left his body and has gone some part of the journey towards the abode of departed souls, his task is to fall into a trance and to send his soul to overtake that of his patient and to persuade it to return.

"The Dayong may or may not fall and lie inert upon the ground in the course of his trance; but throughout the greater part of the ceremony he continues to chant with closed eyes describing with words and mimic gestures the doings of his own soul as it follows after and eventually overtakes that of the patient. . . .

"When all the various efforts are apparently unavailing, the despairing relatives will put the end of a blowpipe to the dying or dead man's ear and shout through it, 'Come back, this is your home, here we have food ready for you.' Sometimes the departing soul is believed to reply, 'I am far from home, I am following a Toh and don't know the way back.' . . .

"If, in spite of all these efforts, the patient dies, a drum is loudly beaten in order to announce the decease to relatives and friends gone before, the number of strokes depending upon the rank and sex of the departing spirit. The corpse is kept in the house during a period

which varies from one night for people of the lower class, to three nights for middle class folks, and ten days for a chief. During this time the dead man lies in state. The corpse has a bead of some value under each eyelid; it is dressed in his finest clothes and ornaments, and is enclosed within a coffin hollowed from a single log, the lid of which is sealed with resin and lashed round with rattans." [1]

The body is then taken to the burying-ground near the camp and placed in the coffin on top of a high pole. If the man is a big chief, the pole is decorated, formerly by means of shells; nowadays European crockery is used, and a German firm has been enterprising enough to supply dinner plates provided with two perforations which facilitate attachment. In some portions of the country the body is burned.

Head-hunting. The reasons for head-hunting are various. Some say that heads are taken in order that the spirits of the victims will become slaves in the next world. Others say that they take heads in order that those who were once their enemies may thereby become their guardians, and their friends become their benefactors. The heads, after they are taken, are dried and smoked in a small hut made for the purpose, and are then brought up to the house amid loud rejoicings and singing of the war choruses.

"For this ceremony all members of the village are summoned from the fields and jungle and when all are assembled in the houses everyone puts off the mourning garments which have been worn by all since the death of the chief for whose funeral rites the heads have been sought. Then the procession carries the heads into the house and up and down the gallery. The men dressed in their war coats, carrying shields and swords, drawn up in a long line, sing the war chorus, and go through a peculiar evolution, known as 'Segar lupar.' Each man keeps turning to face his neighbours, first on one side, then on the other, with regular steps in time with all the rest. This seems to symbolize the alertness of the warriors on the warpath, looking in every direction. The heads, which have been carried by old men, are then hung up over the principal hearth on the beam on which the old heads are hanging; they are suspended by means of a rattan, of which one end is knotted and the other passed upward through the foramen magnum and a hole cut in the top of the skull. After this

[1] C. Hose and W. McDougall, The Pagan Tribes of Borneo, Vol. II, pp. 28 ff., 32 ff. Reprinted by permission of the publishers, The Macmillan Company.

the men sit down to drink and the chief describes the taking of the heads, eulogizing the warrior who drew first blood in each case, and who is credited with the glory of the taking of the head. Then follows a big feast, in every room a pig or fowl being killed and eaten; after which more borak is drunk, the war chorus breaking out spontaneously at brief intervals. Borak is offered to the heads by pouring it into small bamboo cups suspended beside them; and a bit of fat pork will be pushed into the mouth of each. The heads, or rather the Toh associated with them, are supposed to drink and eat these offerings. The fact that the bits of pork remain unconsumed does not seem to raise any difficulty in the minds of the Kayans; they seem to believe that the essence of the food is consumed.

DYAK SWORDS
Courtesy of the Field Museum of Natural History

"The fire beneath the heads is always kept alight in order that they shall be warm, and dry, and comfortable. On certain special occasions they are offered borak and pork in the way mentioned above.

"On moving to a new house the heads are temporarily lodged in a small shelter built for the purpose, and are brought up into the house with a ceremony like that which celebrates their first installation. The Kayans do not care to have in the house more than twenty or thirty heads and are at some pains occasionally to get rid of some superfluous heads — a fact which shows clearly that the heads are not mere trophies of valour and success in war. The moving to a new house is the occasion chosen for reducing the number of heads. Those destined to be left are hung in a hut built at some distance from the house which is about to be deserted. A good fire is made in it and kept up during the demolition of the great house, and when the people depart they make up in the little head-house a fire designed to last

several days. It is supposed that, when the fire goes out, the Toh of the heads notice the fact, and begin to suspect that they are deserted by the people; when the rain begins to come in through the roof their suspicions are confirmed, and the Toh set out to pursue their deserters, but owing to the lapse of time and weather are unable to track them. The people believe that in this way they escape the madness which the anger of the deserted Toh would bring upon them."[1]

After the heads have been taken, the people scoop out the brains through the nostrils. They tear off a bit of the skin of the cheek and eat it as a charm to make them fearless, and cut off the hair to ornament their sword hilts. If the jaws drop, they fasten them up; and if the teeth fall out or if they extract them, they fill up the cavities with imitations made of wood.

The heads of the enemies of the Hill Dyaks are not preserved with the flesh and hair adhering to them; the skull only is retained.

Government. "Each village is absolutely independent of all others save so far as custom and caution prescribe that before undertaking any important affair (such as removal of the village or warlike expedition) the chief will ask the advice and if necessary the co-operation of the chiefs of the neighbouring villages. The people of the neighbouring villages, especially the families of the chiefs are bound together by many ties of kinship; for intermarriage is frequent.

"The minor and purely domestic affairs of each house are settled by the house chief, but all important matters of general interest are brought before the village chief.

"The degree of authority of the chiefs and the nature and the degree of penalties imposed by them are prescribed in a general way by custom, although as regards the former much depends upon the personal qualities of each chief and as regards the latter, much is left to his discretion.

"The chief also is responsible for the proper observation of the omens and for the regulation of malan (tabu) affecting the whole house; and, he takes the leading part in social ceremonies and in most of the religious rites collectively performed by the village. He is regarded by other chiefs as responsible for the behaviour of his people, and above all, in war he is responsible for both strategy and tactics and the general conduct of operations.

[1] C. Hose and W. McDougall, The Pagan Tribes of Borneo, Vol. II, pp. 21–22. Reprinted by permission of the publishers, The Macmillan Company.

"For the maintenance of his authority and the enforcement of his commands the chief relies upon the force of public opinion, which, so long as he is capable and just, will always support him, and will bring severe moral pressure to bear upon any member of the household who hesitates to submit.

"In return for his labours on behalf of the household or village the Kayan chief gains little or nothing in the shape of material reward. He may receive a little voluntary assistance in the cultivation of his field; in travelling by boat he is accorded the place of honour and ease in the middle of the boat, and he is not expected to help in its propulsion. His principal rewards are the social precedence and deference accorded him and the satisfaction found in the exercise of authority.

"If the people of a house or village are gravely dissatisfied with the conduct of their chief, they will retire to their padi-fields, building temporary houses there. If many take this course, a new long house will be built and a new chief elected to rule over it, while the old chief remains in the old house with a reduced following, sometimes consisting only of his near relatives.

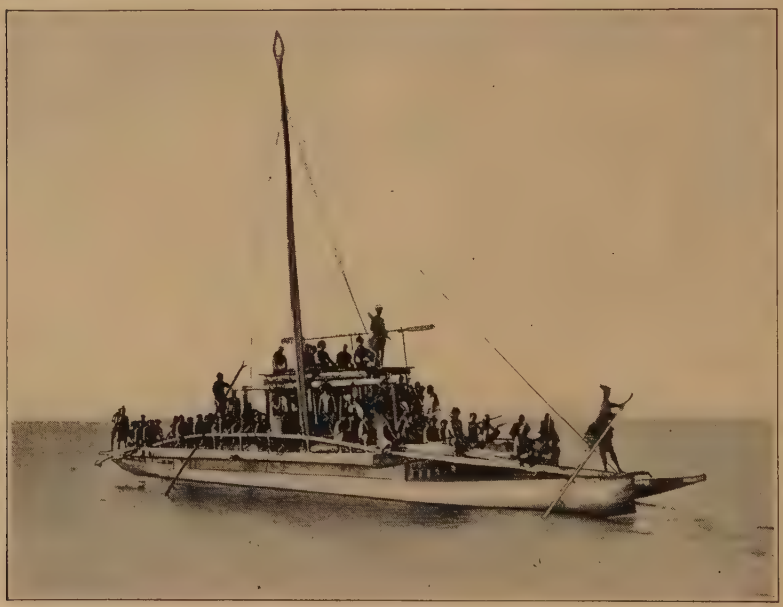
"The office of the chief is rather elective than hereditary, but the operation of the elective principle is affected by a strong bias in favour of the most capable son of the late chief; so in practice a chief is generally succeeded by one of his sons. An elderly chief will sometimes voluntarily abdicate in favour of a son. If a chief dies, leaving no son of mature age, some elderly man of good standing and capacity will be elected to the chieftainship, generally by agreement arrived at by many informal discussions during the weeks following the death. If thereafter a son of the old chief showed himself a capable man as he grew up, he would be held to have a strong claim on the chieftainship at the next vacancy. If the new chief at his death left also a mature and capable son, there might be two claimants, each supported by a strong party; the issue of such a state of affairs would probably be the division of the house or village, by the departure of one claimant with his party to build a new village. In such a case the seceding party would carry away with them their share of the timbers of the old house, together with all their personal property." [1]

[1] C. Hose and W. McDougall, The Pagan Tribes of Borneo, Vol. I, pp. 65–67. Reprinted by permission of the publishers, The Macmillan Company.

CHAPTER XIII

POLYNESIANS

Geography. The word "Polynesia," which is of Greek derivation and signifies a region of "many islands," is given to the scattered group in the Pacific which covers a great area extending from Easter



AN ANCIENT OUTRIGGER CANOE, SAMOA

In boats of this character the natives were able to travel long distances from island to island even in very rough water. (Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York)

Island in the east to the Carolina Islands in the west. The more important of the other islands in this group are New Zealand, Hawaii, the Gilbert Islands, Samoa, the Friendly Islands, Tahiti, and the Society Islands. As in the case of Melanesia, most of these islands are of volcanic origin, although some of them have been formed from coral and are almost circular in form. Frequently a single coral reef,

inclosing in its midst a shallow sea or lagoon, will contain several small islands. The soil of a large number of them is but slightly productive, and they are almost destitute of fresh water. The chief nutritive plants are the sweet potato, coco palms, taro, and bread-fruit trees, and there are no native animals of importance. The islands in the west are the most productive, and many of those in the east are uninhabitable because of their mountainous character. In these latter neither plant nor animal life is able to get a firm foothold.

A TAHITI NATIVE

Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York

Physique and character. The Polynesians are brown of skin and show in many respects a close relationship to the Malays, although some of the people in the west have intermarried with the Melanesians and exhibit some of the characteristics of that race. The skulls of the purer type are dolichocephalic, a characteristic which is often exaggerated by artificial deformation. Foreheads are low and well-shaped; noses full; faces round; eyes small, lively, usually placed horizontally, with remarkably wide openings and eloquent expression; the cheek bones projecting forward rather than sideways; mouths well-shaped despite thick lips. The hair varies in color from black to chestnut brown and is closely waved or curly but never tufted or woolly as in the negroid races. The beard, when allowed to grow, is usually sparse and wiry, but as a rule it is pulled out in order that the elaborate face-tattooing may be seen. On the body there is very little hair. The men are usually tall and stalwart-looking, but they possess very little bodily strength, owing, in part at least, to the indolent life which they lead.

"Under great outward vivacity lies the dullness of the uncultured

nature. Even among the Christian Polynesians one is struck by the indifference with which they meet a disgraceful death at the hands of the executioner; and the tranquillity of children at the death of their parents, particularly in blood-steeped New Zealand, has been remarked. Human sacrifices and cannibalism must have left their traces in the disposition. These evil qualities are cloaked by a childish levity. The task of the criminal law is materially lightened by their garrulity; they cannot keep a secret, even to save themselves from the scaffold." [1]

Self-maintenance. The life of most of the Polynesians is one of great ease, for nature has been kind to them in her disposition of the things necessary for living. A small amount of work suffices to maintain a large number of people, although the conditions here are not as favorable as those found in Melanesia. Like the people of this latter district, they obtain much food from the sea, and the canoes from which they fish are usually made from logs and have an outrigger to steady them. One of the chief vegetable foods is the sweet potato, which they cultivate with great care. It is considered a sacred crop, and the planting and harvesting are attended with many ceremonies. The first potatoes dug are offered to the gods in order to insure good crops in the future.

Of the animals used as food the most important are birds, fish, swine, dogs, and rats. These latter are considered a great delicacy and are prepared in the following way:

"The fur is singed off and the bones crushed, care being taken not to break the skin. The pieces of bone are extracted through the posterior orifice, but the intestines and their contents left undisturbed, the vegetable substance in the stomach serving for ready-made stuffing. When cooked they are like large juicy sausages." [2]

During times of plenty there are two meals a day, one about ten in the morning and the other about four in the afternoon. The food is cooked in underground ovens in a manner similar to that of the Melanesians. Up to a short time ago they had no pottery and so when they wanted to boil water they threw red-hot stones into a wooden trough. The food is served in small baskets made of green

[1] F. Ratzel, The History of Mankind, Vol. I, p. 189.
[2] E. Tregear, The Maori Race, p. 106.

SPEARING AND NETTING FISH ON THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York

PLANTING TARO

Taro is a stemlike, tuberous, starchy root which is eaten boiled or baked, made into a bread or pudding. These tubers when baked, pounded, and pressed keep fresh many months. The leaves and leafstalks are also edible and are very similar in character to spinach or asparagus. (Courtesy of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum)

flax, and each guest is presented with one. When the meal is over, the baskets are thrown away.

Cannibalism. Cannibalism, although not common in the Hawaiian Islands, was very prevalent in New Zealand up to modern times. All the prisoners taken in battle, with the exception of a few who were kept for slaves, were eaten. There is an account of one chief who, after he had put two hundred and fifty captives to death, turned

PREPARING A POLYNESIAN OVEN

The women are leveling the hot stones before inserting the bundles of food, which are wrapped in ti leaves. (Courtesy of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum)

to an attendant and said: "I am tired. Let the rest live." And so they were kept as slaves, which was considered a greater disgrace than being eaten.

"When bodies could not all be eaten, some of the flesh was stripped from the bones and dried in the sun, being hung on stages for that purpose. The flesh was then gathered into baskets and oil poured over it, the oil being rendered down from the bodies. This was done to prevent its spoiling from damp. Sometimes the flesh was potted into calabashes as birds were potted. The body of a chief might be flayed and the skin dried for covering hoops and boxes. The bones

were made into fish-hooks or spear-heads. If the deceased had been a great chief care was taken to degrade every part of the skeleton. It frequently happened that the skull was made into a water vessel or other receptacle." [1]

Houses. Houses are frequently set on the ground and are for the most part elaborately carved. "They are oblong in shape, with low side walls, gabled ends, one small doorway, a window aperture placed in the end near the door, and both the two latter opening out on to a wide verandah. Inside they are from the absence of light and

A NATIVE HOUSE, SOCIETY ISLANDS
Courtesy of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum

ventilation, dark and stuffy, but the closely woven thatch of the roof and walls exclude draughts and make them snug and cozy." [2] In each village there is a large assembly house which is built with great ceremony and the sacrifice of a human victim.

Marriage. Among the people of New Zealand early marriage is not the rule; in fact, the men are mature before they take a wife. Very considerable freedom is allowed to a young girl before marriage, and probably full advantage is taken of it so far as flirtation and love-making are concerned. There is, however, a public opinion in a native village which will check any approach to licentiousness. Personal modesty and individual pride determine the degrees of strictness here

[1] E. Tregear, The Maori Race, pp. 356 ff. [2] Ibid. p. 271.

BUILDING A HOUSE, SAMOA

Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York

A SAMOAN VILLAGE

Photograph by H. C. Walters. Courtesy of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum

as elsewhere. It is chiefly among the lower-class girls that questionable conduct is permitted: the daughters of a chief are surrounded by many restrictions.[1] Children are often betrothed at birth or even before they are born, and in these cases a strict surveillance is kept over them until marriage has been consummated. As a rule the girls have a right to show preference for one man, and often the love-making is carried on by the girls. It frequently happens that a man will reject an offer to the great discomfiture of the lady. One of the legends tells of a stranger coming into the camp. He was seen first by the youngest daughter of the chief, and she claimed him for her husband. The elder protested that by right of seniority she should have him. The father settled the dispute by saying, "Oh, my elder daughter! let your younger sister have the stranger-chief as husband; she saw him first." The elder girl obeyed, but was so angry that she left home for good. If the proposal sent by a highborn girl is rejected, tragic consequences often follow, and even suicide on the part of the girl may result.

SAMOAN NATIVES

Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York

There is no marriage ceremony among the lower classes, but the night before a girl marries she calls all her friends together and announces to them: "I am going to take a husband. So and so is his name." This is thought to be sufficient.

"Although in the middle ranks of life and in cases of regular be-

[1] Adapted from E. Tregear's "Maori Race," p. 284.

trothal parents arranged the matter when the parties concerned were young, yet when engagements were entered into at a more adult age the parents' consent was not so important as that of the bride's brothers and uncles. This was on account of land-transfer complications. An ancient and favourite way of marriage was to get up a war-party (or mimic war-party) and carry off the bride by force. There were so many relatives to be consulted, some of whom would be sure to feel aggrieved if their consent was not obtained, that abduction was easiest. There was often feigned abduction and feigned defence, but it was at times very hard on the girl. . . .

"An aristocratic marriage was accompanied by a great feast. As a general rule the house for the new couple was erected by the father of the bridegroom if the bride was to leave her own people to go to those of her intended husband. If, however, a chief had only high fighting-rank (not territory) and came to live with his wife, the bride's relatives built the house for them. The relatives generally determined when the bridal feast was to take place, and in the meantime the mats were woven, food collected, etc. At the wedding feast the bride appeared clothed in new mats and accompanied by her brothers and uncles. The priests uttered charms and incantations over the married couple, followed by long recitals of genealogies of both bride and bridegroom, and when the couple had been led to their new house the proceedings terminated. . . .

"A man of noble birth or position was allowed to take more than one wife, and generally his principal wife, at least, was a high-born woman. Whatever their rank, they were generally well treated and were held in high respect. Sometimes all the three or four wives were of exalted birth, and to a chief thus honoured, marriage became a means whereby his influence could be greatly augmented. Each wife would bring her retinue, her slaves and other property to add to the resources of the household and enable her husband to exercise that princely hospitality which beseemed the position of a man of aristocratic rank. The wives did not always live together in the husband's house. They (or any one of them) might prefer to live on their own lands and manage them, being visited by their husband at certain times. If they dwelt together they seldom quarrelled among themselves; the status of each was fixed by custom and this was seldom departed from, although if a new wife was suddenly brought

home there was a flutter in the dove-cote. They had little jealousy of each other; each had her own cultivation to look after and polygamy seemed perfectly natural in a society where men were killed off in the constant fighting and divorce was easy. Old and sickly wives have been known to urge the husband to bring home a younger woman as wife, to share the work and ensure numerous offspring, for they believed barrenness to be always the woman's fault. The rule, too, that a brother should take his deceased brother's wife or wives and slaves sometimes swelled the number of the household to a great extent. Nevertheless there were hardly ever more than six wives in a household. There were often women slaves or servants about the house and they not only performed the menial work but were supposed to be sexually at the master's disposal."[1]

A NATIVE SAMOAN GIRL READY TO SERVE KAVA

Kava is a narcotic beverage made from a plant of the same name. Its preparation is usually accompanied by ceremonial chanting. (Photograph by H. C. Walters. Courtesy of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum)

Ellis, in speaking of the morality of the inhabitants on the island of Tahiti, says: "Their common conversation, when engaged in their ordinary avocations, was often such as the ear could not listen to without pollution, presenting images, and conveying sentiments, whose most fleeting passage through the mind left contamination. Awfully dark, indeed, was their moral character, and notwithstanding the apparent mildness of their disposition, and the cheerful vivacity of their conversation, no portion of the human race was ever sunk lower in brutal licentiousness and moral degradation, than this isolated people."[2]

[1] E. Tregear, The Maori Race, pp. 293, 295–297.
[2] W. Ellis, Polynesian Researches, Vol. I, p. 97.

Clothes and body decorations. The clothes and body decorations of the Polynesians are more elaborate than those found among other peoples of Oceania. The basis for much of their clothing is a bark cloth, called tapa, usually made from the paper-mulberry or similar trees. The bark is detached in long strips, which are immersed in water for several hours, and when sufficiently soaked are laid on a flat piece of wood. The inner bark is now detached from the outer by scraping with a piece of shell, and is carefully washed. The strips are laid out side by side until they cover a space of the required size, three layers being placed one above the other. They are left thus until the following day, by which time the water that they have absorbed through the washing causes them to adhere together. The whole piece is now taken to a flattened beam or board and beaten or felted together by repeated blows from short mallets of hard wood. During this operation water is constantly sprinkled upon the fabric. When the piece has been felted to a uniform consistency it is dried, and finally ornamented with colored designs, either applied with the free hand or, more rarely, printed by means of large frames or stamps, as in Samoa and Fiji. When very large sheets are required, smaller pieces are joined together by means of gum made from the breadfruit tree, or by stitching. Unless oiled, tapa rapidly deteriorates when exposed to the rain. The whole process of manufacture is carried out by women.[1]

A TAHITI NATIVE

Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York

[1] Adapted from "Handbook to the Ethnographical Collection of the British Museum," pp. 149–150.

Both sexes wear around the waist a girdle, made either from this cloth or from plaited grasses, which usually hangs down to the knees. From the shoulders hangs a cloak which is sometimes nine or ten feet long by seven wide. These cloaks are made from dogskins, woven grass, or bark cloths, and are very elaborately decorated with different designs. The most beautiful are covered with a solid mass of red or yellow feathers taken from the parrot, and because of their great value are owned only by the very wealthy or by the nobility. Around the neck and in the ears are worn ornaments made from jade or other stones, or from bones and teeth. These people all employ flowers in their personal decoration. They make long garlands which they twine around their necks, and put bright-colored blossoms in their hair.

A MAORI IN CEREMONIAL COSTUME
Courtesy of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum

The most important forms of body decoration are painting and tattooing. Frequently the whole face will be reddened, but at times half is painted red and half black. Before going out to war the warriors are daubed in the most terrifying manner. Tattooing is practiced more by the men than by the women. The actual work is regarded as a sacred profession and is performed by priests to the accompaniment of prayers and hymns. The figures depicted are often those of sacred animals, like snakes and lizards. They tattoo the face,— eyelids, nose, lips,— and the body from the waist down. The operation is very painful. Figures are first drawn on the skin; then a sharp stick or pointed bone or stone is tapped with a wooden mallet so as to form a series of punctures along the lines. These are then filled in with the coloring matter and allowed to heal. It is

especially painful on the face, and the inflammation produced on the tender flesh is so acute that the work cannot be completed at one time. Women think that red lips are a disgrace, and so before marriage the lips are tattooed with blue lines. In the case of a woman of high rank a day is set apart for the ceremony, and a human victim, who has been procured for the purpose by a war party, is sacrificed. The body is eaten by the assembled people.

MAORI WOMEN

The tattooing on the chin and lips is typical of the natives of New Zealand. The feather cloak is an evidence of wealth. (Courtesy of the Philadelphia Commercial Museum)

Amusements. Pleasures of the children are similar to those found in most civilized and uncivilized countries; they whip tops, skip rope, wrestle, throw spears, and play ball. In some of these sports, especially wrestling, the older people, both men and women, participate. Dancing and singing play important parts in the entertainments. Some of the dances are of a pantomimic nature, but most of them are merely gymnastic; skill in jumping, in executing bodily contortions, and ability to keep time to the music are considered the requisites of a good dancer.

Of all the Polynesians the Hawaiians have developed music to the greatest extent, and much of it is pleasing to the ears of the civilized man. Whether or not this music is entirely native we do not know, but it is supposed by many that the islanders took over the early missionary hymns and transposed them for their own religious and secular use. All the music has a pathetic wail, which is accentuated by the methods of playing the guitar. The instrument is placed flat

METHOD OF TATTOOING, SAMOA

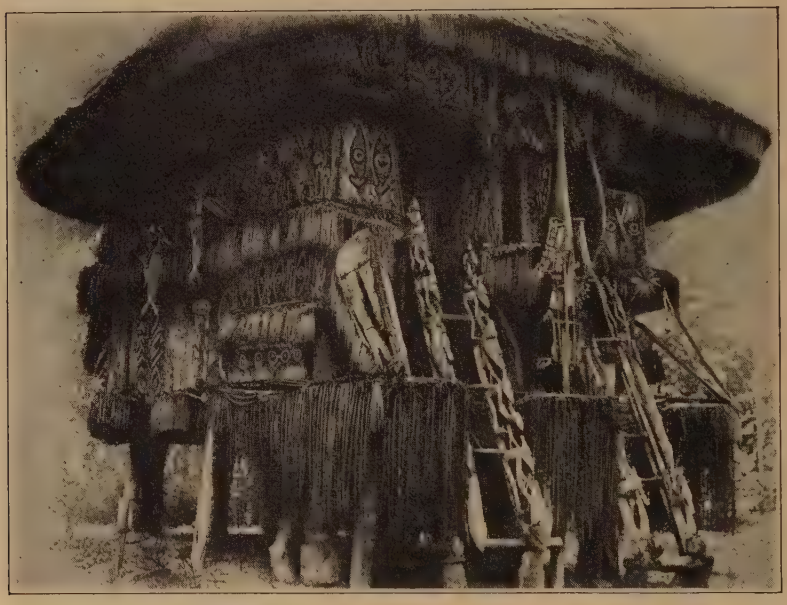
Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York

A SAMOAN DANCE

Photograph by H. C. Walters. Courtesy of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum

on the knees, and the fingers of the right hand slide up and down the strings while those of the left do the picking. The accompaniment is carried by the ukulele, which resembles in shape a very small guitar.

Surf-riding is one of the greatest amusements. Both sexes become so expert that they can balance themselves, lying, kneeling, or standing, on a narrow board while being swept landwards on the curling crests of mighty waves, and seldom does an accident occur.



A POLYNESIAN GHOST HOUSE IN WHICH MANY RELIGIOUS CEREMONIALS TAKE PLACE

Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York

Religion. The religion of the Polynesians is largely made up of the worship of the gods and goddesses that dwell in the forces of nature. Other deities inhabit the heavens, the lower world, and the volcanoes. Around all of these has been built up an elaborate mythology, wherein all the natural phenomena of nature are accounted for by the good or bad actions of these superhuman beings. So closely do many of the myths follow those of ancient Greece and of early Biblical times that it is not unreasonable to infer that their composition came after the white people reached the islands. Under these circumstances it is often difficult to separate native beliefs from imported beliefs.

Many of the Polynesians, in carrying out their religious rites, sacrifice not only animals but also human beings. In Hawaii, before the higher civilization was brought to them, human sacrifices were offered whenever a temple was to be dedicated, or a chief was sick, or a war was to be undertaken; and these occasions were frequent. In the same archipelago, when the goddess Pele showed her anger by causing the volcano Kilauea to erupt, men or women were thrown into the crater as a sacrifice. The myth concerning

A TYPICAL BURIAL CAVE, AUSTRAL ISLANDS

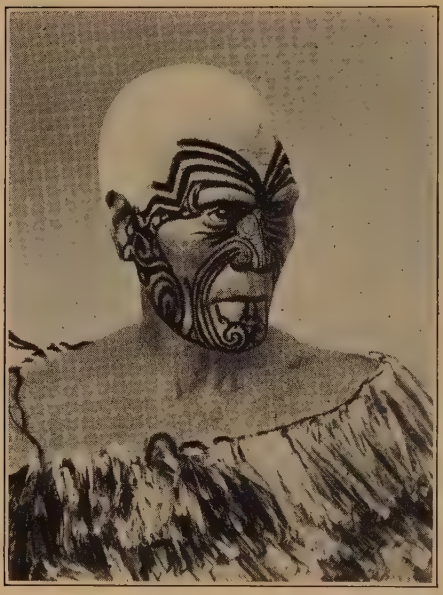
Courtesy of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum

the goddess Pele, who was supposed to inhabit the volcano, represents her, with her attendant spirits reveling in the flames.

"The unearthly noises of the burning mass were the music of their dance, and they bathed in the red surge of the fiery billows as it dashed against the sides of the crater. This fire-loving family emigrated from Tahiti soon after the deluge. The volcano was their principal residence, although occasionally they renovated their constitutions amid the snows of the mountains. On such occasions their journeys were accompanied by earthquakes, eruptions, heavy thunder and lightning. The numerous eruptions with which the island has been devastated were ascribed to their enmity. They were held in

highest reverence, and to insult them, break their taboos, or neglect to send offerings, was to call down certain destruction. At their call, Pele would spout her lava and destroy the offenders. Vast numbers of hogs were thrown into the crater when any fear of an eruption was entertained." [1]

In Samoa, where the sun was worshiped, human sacrifices were offered every day for eighty days.[2] In New Zealand the war god received the heart, liver, and scalp of the first man slain in a battle.



A NEW ZEALAND CHIEF, WEARING A FEATHER CAPE

His face is elaborately tattooed. (Courtesy of the Philadelphia Commercial Museum)

Government. "The government of the South Sea Islands, like that in Hawaii, was an arbitrary monarchy. The supreme authority was vested in the king, and was hereditary in his family. It differed materially from the systems existing among the Marquesans in the east, and the New Zealanders in the southwest. There is no supreme ruler in either of these groups of islands, but the different tribes or clans are governed by their respective chieftains each of whom is, in general, independent of any other. Regarding the inhabitants of Tahiti, and the adjacent islands, as an uncivilized people, ignorant of letters and the arts, their modes of governing were necessarily rude and irregular. In many respects, however, their institutions indicate great attention to the principles of government, an acquaintance with the means of controlling the conduct of man, and an advancement in the organization of their civil polity, which, under corresponding circumstances, is but rarely attained, and could scarcely have been expected.

[1] J. J. Jarves, History of the Hawaiian Islands, p. 27.
[2] E. Tregear, The Maori Race, p. 470.

"Their government, in all its multiplied ramifications, in its abstract theory, and in its practical details, was closely interwoven with their false system of religion. The god and the king were generally supposed to share the authority over mankind. The latter sometimes personated the former, and received the homage and the requests presented by the votaries of the imaginary divinity, and at other times officiated as the head of his people in rendering their acknowledgments to the gods. The office of high-priest was frequently sustained by the king — who thus united in his person the highest civil and sacerdotal station in the land. The genealogy of the reigning family was usually traced back to the first ages of their traditionary history; and the kings, in some of the islands, were supposed to have descended from the gods. Their persons were always sacred, and their families constituted the highest rank recognized among the people." [1]

[1] W. Ellis, Polynesian Researches, Vol. III, pp. 93–94.

THE RED RACE

CHAPTER XIV

ESKIMOS

Situation and environment. The Eskimos inhabit the northern portion of North America. Their territory extends from the west coast of Bering Strait across Alaska and along the north coast of North America, the North American groups of Arctic islands, and both the west and east coasts of Greenland. This is largely a land of ice, snow, and water, although in the southern portion the short hot summer enables the people to raise a few vegetables in the stony soil.

History. "The likeness between all the different tribes of Eskimos as well as their secluded position with respect to other peoples, and the perfection of their implements, might be taken to indicate that they are of a very old race, in which everything has stiffened into definite forms, which can now be but slowly altered. Other indications, however, seem to conflict with such a hypothesis, and render it more probable that the race was originally a small one, which did not until a comparatively late period develop to the point at which we now find it, and spread over the countries which it at present inhabits.

"If it should seem difficult to understand, at first sight, how they could have spread in a comparatively short time over these wide tracts of country without moving in great masses, as in the case of larger migrations, we need only reflect that their present inhospitable abiding-places can scarcely have been inhabited, at any rate permanently, before they took possession of them, and that, therefore, they had nothing to contend with except nature itself.

"Dr. H. Rink, who has made Greenland and its people the study of his life, and is beyond comparison the greatest authority on the subject, holds that the Eskimo implements and weapons — at any rate, for the greater part — may be traced to America. He regards it as probable that the Eskimos were once a race dwelling in the interior of Alaska, where there are still a considerable number of inland Eskimos, and that they have migrated thence to the coasts of the ice-sea.

He further maintains that their speech is most closely connected with primitive dialects of America, and that their legends and customs recall those of the Indians.

"One point among others, however, in which the Eskimos differ from the Indians is the use of dog-sledges. With the exception of the Incas of Peru, who use the llama as the beast of burden, no American aborigines employed animals either for drawing or for carrying. In this, then, the Eskimos more resemble the races of the Asiatic polar regions." [1]

AN ESKIMO BOY, EIGHTEEN YEARS OLD
Photograph by Dr. L. M. Waugh

Physical features. The Eskimo has a yellowish-brown color "and even among the half-breeds a certain tinge of brownish yellow is unmistakable. This natural darkness of the skin, however, is generally much intensified, especially in the case of men and old women, by a total lack of cleanliness. The method of washing practiced by the men is to 'scrape the sweat off their faces with a knife.'" [2] The mothers sometimes clean their children by licking them before putting them into their cradles.

The adult has a round, broad, flat face, high cheek bones, small Mongolian eyes, a flat nose, and a broad mouth. His teeth are good, but owing to the character of the food they are worn down to the gums in old age. His head is mesocephalic, and the hair is long, black, and straight, with a small amount on the face and almost none on the body. The height of the men is about five feet two inches and that of the women five feet.

"The men have broad shoulders, strong, muscular arms, and a good chest; but on the other hand one notices that their thighs are comparatively narrow, and their legs not particularly strong. When they get up in years, therefore, they are apt to have an uncertain gait, with

[1] F. Nansen, Eskimo Life, pp. 6–8. [2] Ibid. p. 21.

knees slightly bent. This defective development of the lower extremities must be ascribed, for the most part, to the daily confinement in the cramped kaiak." [1]

The people grow old in appearance at a comparatively early age; the skin becomes very much wrinkled, the eyes bleary, and the hair scanty, but their strength and vigor are little impaired.

ESKIMO WOMEN
Photograph by Dr. L. M. Waugh

Character. Before the Eskimos came into contact with the white race they possessed many virtues which have since been lost, although even at the present time they maintain certain qualities which seem to be almost inborn. They have a different set of actions for members of their own group and for foreigners. They call themselves "the people" (*Innuit*), and hence they look at all others as interlopers who should be treated as such.

They are truthful and honest in their dealings with each other, but toward the other races they exhibit less of these qualities. The reason

[1] F. Nansen, Eskimo Life, p. 20. The kayak, or kaiak, is a light, skin boat used by the men.

is not hard to find. The first Europeans that came plundered the natives, maltreated the women, and even took some of them back to Europe as exhibits. However, since that earlier time much of the contact has been more friendly, and the Eskimos have come to treat the whites almost as they do those of their own color.

"Fighting and brutalities of that sort are unknown among them, and murder is very rare. They hold it atrocious to kill a fellow-creature; therefore war is in their eyes incomprehensible and repulsive, a thing for which their language has no word; and soldiers and officers, brought up to the trade of killing, they regard as mere butchers." [1]

AN ESKIMO KAYAK

Courtesy of the Museum of the American Indian

Self-maintenance. "The Eskimo, more than anyone else, belongs to the coast and the sea. He dwells by the sea, upon it he seeks his subsistence, it gives him all the necessaries of his life, over it he makes all his journeys whether in his skin-canoes in summer, or in his dog-sledges when it is icebound in winter. The sea is thus the strongest influence in the life of the Eskimo." [2]

Boats. The kayak, or skin boat, is very necessary for every Eskimo living on the sea. These boats, large enough for one man, are about eighteen feet long and eighteen inches broad at the widest part. The depth from top to bottom is about six inches. The frame of the boat is made of wood or bone covered with sealskin which has been carefully worked by the women. In the middle of the kayak deck is a hole just big enough for one man to get in. The boat is propelled by a double-bladed paddle. In good weather the man wears a "half jacket" made of water-tight skin, which fastens tightly to a ring around the opening of the boat and comes up to his armpits. It is

[1] F. Nansen, Eskimo Life, p. 162. [2] Ibid. p. 3.

held in place by straps which go over his shoulders. Loose sleeves of skin are drawn over the hands and arms in order to keep dry. In a heavy sea the man wears the "whole jacket." This is similar to the "half jacket," in that it fits to the opening of the boat, but the upper part is longer and has a hood which goes over the head and fastens under the chin with drawing strings. The sleeves, which are fastened to the jacket, are tied around the wrists. In this outfit it is possible for a man to go through the heaviest breakers and capsize and right himself again without getting wet and without letting water into the boat. It takes a great deal of practice to become skillful in using the kayak, and boys begin at a very early age, under the tutelage of their fathers, to master its difficulties. A man is not considered an expert until he has learned the art of righting himself after capsizing. The annual number of deaths of the unskilled is large.

Weapons. The Eskimo shows his adaptation to a very difficult environment in no better way, perhaps, than in the weapons which he uses for hunting. Wood is, of course, scarce, for about all he gets is that which is thrown up by the sea, and hence every bit is valuable and must be conserved with the greatest care. The spear, which is the chief weapon, is made in two parts, the shaft of wood and the head of bone. If the shaft and the head were fastened tightly together, and the spear stuck in a bear or seal which escaped, it would mean that a very valuable piece of wood would be lost. To obviate the possibility of such an occurrence the shaft and the head are fastened so lightly together that when an animal is struck the head of the spear detaches itself and stays in the animal, and the shaft can be easily rescued.

The harpoon is used almost exclusively on the sea and is constructed (with a few exceptions) along the same lines as the spear. It is a good deal heavier than the spear, and the head is of different construction.

"The upper end of the wooden shaft is fitted with a thick and strong plate of bone, on the top of which is fixed a long bone foreshaft — commonly made of walrus or narwhal tusk — which is fastened to the shaft by means of a joint of thongs, so that a strong pressure or blow from the side, instead of shattering the foreshaft, causes it to break off at the joint. This foreshaft fits exactly into a hole in the harpoon-head proper, which is made of bone, generally of walrus or narwhal tusk. [The head is held temporarily to the shaft by a thong

and to this is attached an inflated bladder of some animal.] When the harpoon strikes and the seal begins to plunge, the bone foreshaft instantly breaks off at the joint, and the harpoon-head, with the line and bladder attached to it, is thus loosened from the shaft, which floats up to the surface and is picked up by the owner, while the seal dashes away, dragging the line and bladder after it." [1]

Another weapon of importance is the bird dart. The head is now of iron, but it used to be made of bone. There are fastened to the middle of the shaft three forward-slanting bone spikes. If the head of the dart does not strike the bird, one of these spikes may.

AN ESKIMO HARPOON AND FLOAT

Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York

All three of these weapons — the spear, the harpoon, and the bird dart — are hurled by means of a throwing-stick very similar to those seen in other countries.

Hunting and fishing. The hunting at sea is usually done by several men, each in his own kayak. They will spear three or four seals apiece and, attaching bladders to each to keep it afloat, will drag them back to the village. The women come down to meet the returning hunters, for their work now begins. They take the seals out on the land, cut them up, and prepare the skins for use. Hunting or fishing from these kayaks is dangerous business, for frequently the seal or the walrus, in its dying struggles, attacks the man and either injures him or cuts the light skin of his boat so that he drowns.

In winter, when the people are unable to go out in their boats, they hunt the seal by stalking; that is, they flop along the ice as the seals do until they get as near to the animal as possible and then hurl their spears. A seal has a hole in the ice beside which it sleeps.

[1] F. Nansen, Eskimo Life, pp. 35 ff.

One peculiarity of this animal is that it sleeps for a few moments, then raises its head, looks about, and, if it sees no danger, drops back on the ice again. However, it is able to see clearly only a short distance, and if the hunter remains motionless during the periods of reconnaissance the seal suspects nothing, and it is possible to get near to it.

In hunting the polar bear one method is to freeze a coiled spring made of bone into a piece of meat and leave it on the ice. The bear swallows it, the heat of the stomach melts the meat, and the spring flies out and tears the stomach of the bear so that it dies.

Food. Meat and fish form the chief articles of diet of the Eskimos. These are eaten raw, frozen, boiled, or dried. Frequently the meat is allowed to ferment or decompose before it is eaten. Seal and whale blubber are eaten raw. There is very little vegetable food to be obtained. To make up for this lack, the Eskimo eats, with the greatest relish, the contents of the reindeer's stomach. This contains the finest moss and grasses. If a Greenlander kills a reindeer and is unable to carry the whole animal home with him, he will cut out the stomach and take that. Another delicacy is the skin of the whale with a layer of blubber next to it. This is eaten raw and is said to taste like a mixture of oysters and nuts.

When the white people came in contact with the Eskimos, they brought with them soap and candles; but instead of using these for the purposes intended, the natives are reported to have eaten them with great enjoyment. Coffee has been introduced by the whites, and this they consume in great quantities, sometimes drinking four and five bowls a day.

The Eskimos are enormous eaters. Two will easily dispose of a seal at a sitting; and in Greenland each individual has for his daily consumption, on an average, two and a half pounds of flesh with blubber, and one pound of fish, besides mussels, berries, seaweed, etc., to which in the Danish settlement may be added two ounces of imported food. In time of plenty ten pounds of flesh, in addition to other food, is not uncommonly consumed in a day. A man will lie on his back and allow his wife to feed him with titbits of blubber and flesh until he is unable to move. The word "Eskimo" signifies, in its Indian original *Eskimantsie*, "eaters of raw meat." It is an opprobrious epithet.

Houses. The type of house depends upon the locality in which the people are living. In the Far North the houses are made of snow and

BUILDING A SNOW HOUSE
Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York

ice; farther south they are constructed from stone, dirt, and skins. The snow house (igloo) is made from blocks sixteen inches square and

A SNOW HOUSE WITH A CARIBOU SKIN ROOF
Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York

about six inches thick. They are laid in spirally ascending rows so as to form a dome-shaped vault. The entrance is through a long low passage which has a block of snow or a heavy skin hung over the

entrance to keep out the cold. Light is admitted through a piece of ice. Around the sides of the hut are seats made from blocks of ice, which, when covered with skins, form the beds.

Although the only heat in these huts comes from a floating-wick stone lamp which stands in the middle of the floor, yet the temperature of the room can be kept at 70° F. This lamp is the most important article of furniture, for it not only gives the people heat and light but serves for cooking and for drying clothes. In Greenland the winter houses are made of stones and turf. They are five or six feet above the level of the ground, and the floor is sunk several feet.

AN ESKIMO SOD HOUSE

Photograph by Dr. L. M. Waugh

"There is only one room in these houses, and in it several families generally live together — men and women, old and young. The roof is so low that a man of any stature can scarcely stand upright. The room forms an oblong quadrangle. Along the whole of the longer wall, opposite the door, runs the chief sleeping bench, about six feet six inches in width, upon which sleep the married people, with grown-up unmarried daughters and young boys and girls. Here they lie in a row, side by side, with their feet towards the wall and their heads out into the room. . . .

"Unmarried men generally lie upon smaller benches under the windows, which are in the opposite long wall. The windows were formerly filled with gut-skin or some similar material, but nowadays on the west coast glass is commonly used.

"The house is entered through a long and narrow passage, partly dug out beneath the level of the ground, and, like the houses, walled with stones and turf. You descend into it from the level of the ground through a hole. It is, as a rule, so low and narrow that one has to crouch one's way through it, and a large man finds it difficult enough to effect an entrance. From this passage, you enter the house through a little square opening, usually in the front long wall, which is closed by a door or trapdoor.

"The purpose of this passage is to prevent the cold air from coming in and the warm air from escaping. It is to this end that it is made to lie lower than the house; by which means, too, a little ventilation is obtained, since the heavy bad air, can, to some extent, sink down into it and escape. In Greenland houses of the old style there are no fireplaces; they are warmed as well as lighted by train-oil lamps, which burn day and night. They are left burning all night through, not merely for the sake of warmth, but also because the Eskimos are exceedingly superstitious, and therefore afraid of even sleeping in darkness. You may hear them relate, as a proof of extreme poverty, that this family or that, poor things, have to sleep at night with no lamp burning." [1]

Civilization has introduced to these people fireplaces, stoves, iron pots, and kettles, which change to a large extent their mode of existence. Many of them are now living in individual houses instead of several families in one, with the result that they are unable to pool their goods and that poverty is more keenly felt.

During the summer months the snow huts are abandoned, the roofs are knocked in so that the many undesirable visitors that collect during the winter may be washed out, and the people take up their abode in skin tents.

Summer. Most families possess a skin boat known as the woman's boat (oomiak). These boats are about forty feet long and got their name from the fact that they are paddled by the women while the men follow in their kayaks. Whole communities wander from one hunting ground to another during the summer, taking with them their tents, household utensils, and dogs. They sometimes cover as much as fifty miles a day in these boats.

"By means of this habit of wandering, they escaped the evil effects

[1] F. Nansen, Eskimo Life, pp. 78 ff.

of too great seclusion in separate villages; they met together and kept up intercourse with other people, so that there was all through the summer a certain life and traffic from which they reaped many benefits. Their minds were enlivened, interest in hunting was stimulated, and skill was developed in many different ways, to say nothing of the fact that the frequent changing of hunting-grounds brought much more game within their reach." [1]

But this is all changed now. Because of the great impoverishment brought about by the higher civilization, there are every

DOGS DRAGGING A SLEDGE WITH A SEAL FASTENED BEHIND
Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York

year fewer hunters who can get enough skins to make a woman's boat and a tent, both of which are necessary for traveling.

"They are more and more forced to pass the whole year round in the unwholesome winter houses, which are, of course, mere hot-beds for bacteria and all sorts of contagious diseases, while the men are thus unable to change their hunting-grounds, and must keep to the same spots year in and year out." [2]

Dogs and sledges. The dog is the greatest friend the Eskimo has, for by his aid he is able to travel long distances over the ice and snow. The wealth of a man is largely determined by the number of dogs he possesses. A good team consists of about twelve dogs, and when they are well trained and the snow is level they can travel from sixty to ninety miles a day. The dogs are fastened to the sledges by

[1] F. Nansen, Eskimo Life, p. 87.
[2] Ibid. p. 88.

means of a harness of thongs and are guided by a long whip and a single rein. The sledges consist of two runners made from wood or bone and fastened together by crosspieces of the same materials. These are bound by leather thongs. One man sits on the sledge, or if it is laden with goods he runs alongside, guiding the dogs with a whip.

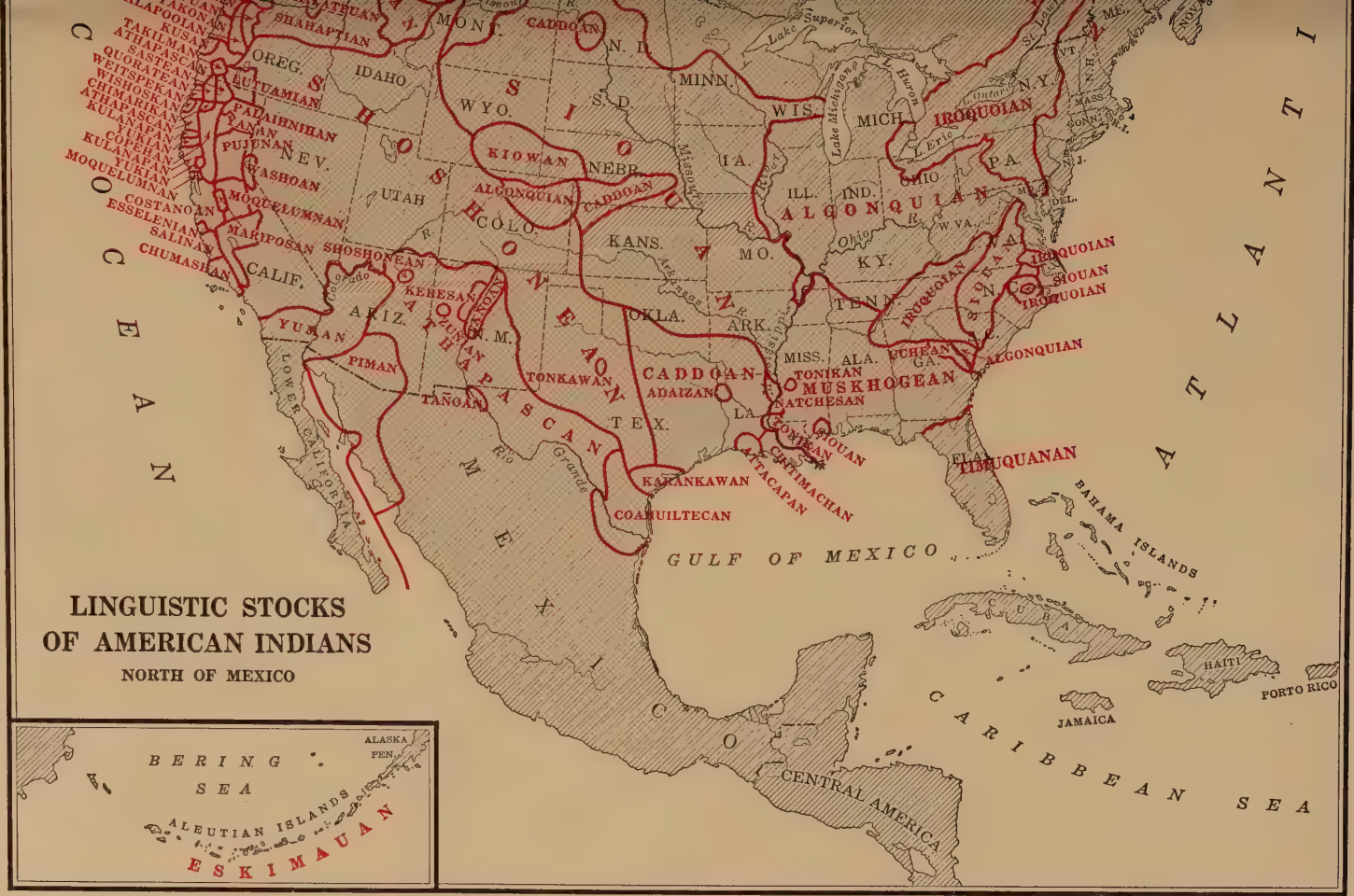
Clothing. The costumes of the men and women are very similar. The upper garment is made of bird-skins [or sealskins] with

ESKIMO MEN

The one at the right is wearing snow goggles. (Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York)

the feathers or down turned inwards, is shaped very much like our woolen jerseys, and, like them, is drawn over the head. It is provided with a hood, used as a head-covering in the open air; at other times it is thrown back, and forms, with its upstanding selvage of black dog-skin, a sort of collar around the neck. At the wrists, too, this garment is edged with black dog-skin, like a showy fur overcoat among us. Outside of this an outer vest is worn, now for the most part made of cotton. Trousers of sealskin or of the European cloth, are worn upon the legs; on the feet a peculiar sort of shoes, made of sealskin. These consist of two layers, an interior sock of skin with the fur turned inwards, and an exterior shoe of hairless, water-tight

ESKIMAUAN
ATHAPASCAN
ALGONQUIAN
KOLUSCHAN
SKITTAGETAN
WAKASHAN
SALISHAN
CHIMAKUAN
ATHAPASCAN
ESKIMAUAN
ALEUTIAN
GREENLAND
ICELAND
OCEAN
Davis Strait
Baffin Bay
Hudson Strait
HUDSON BAY
Foxe Channel
Hamilton Inlet
Cape Farewell
Bering Strait
SIBERIA
ALASKA
Yukon River
Mackenzie River
Great Bear Lake
Great Slave Lake
Lake Winnipeg
James Bay
Gulf of St. Lawrence
Gulf of Boothia
Melville Sound
McClintock Channel
VICTORIA ISLAND
BANKS ISLAND
DEVON ISLAND
COCKBURN ISLAND
BOOTHIA PENINSULA
SOUTHAMPTON ISLAND
NEWFOUNDLAND
CAPE BRETON I.
ANTICOSTI I.
VANCOUVER ISLAND
PACIFIC


LINGUISTIC STOCKS
OF AMERICAN INDIANS
NORTH OF MEXICO
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO
MEXICO
CENTRAL AMERICA
CARIBBEAN SEA
BERING SEA
ALEUTIAN ISLANDS
ESKIMAUAN
ALASKA PEN.
SHAHAPTIAN
SHOSHONEAN
KIOWAN
ALGONQUIAN
CADDOAN
IROQUOIAN
SIOUAN
MUSKHOGEAN
ATHAPASCAN
YUMAN
PIMAN
KERESAN
TANOAN
TONKAWAN
ADAIZAN
TONIKAN
NATCHESAN
CHITIMACHAN
ATTACAPAN
KARANKAWAN
COAHUILTECAN
TIMUQUANAN
CHEHAN
BAHAMA ISLANDS
CUBA
HAITI
PORTO RICO
JAMAICA
OREG.
IDAHO
WYO.
NEBR.
COLO.
UTAH
NEV.
CALIF.
KANS.
OKLA.
TEX.
MINN.
IA.
MO.
ARK.
LA.
WIS.
MICH.
ILL.
IND.
OHIO
KY.
TENN.
MISS.
ALA.
GA.
FLA.
N.C.
S.C.
VA.
W.VA.
PA.
N.Y.
ME.
VT.
N.H.
MASS.
CONN.
R.I.
N.J.
DEL.
MD.
ONT.
N.D.
S.D.
N.M.
ARIZ.
Lake Superior
Lake Michigan
Lake Huron
L. Erie
L. Ontario
St. Lawrence R.
Missouri R.
Mississippi R.
Ohio R.
Arkansas R.
Colorado R.
Rio Grande

hide. In the sole, between the sock and outer shoe, is placed a layer of straw or bladder sedge.[1]

The costumes of the women differ in the amount of decoration and the number of ornaments upon them. Where the man's vest is a dark color, that of the woman will be red, blue, or green. Around their necks many of the women wear necklaces of glass beads, and in slits in their ears and lips they wear plugs of glass, bone, or shells. In the past it was the custom of the people when they went from the cold out of doors into the hot houses to remove all their clothes with the exception of a loin cloth.

"This light raiment was, of course, very wholesome; for the many layers of skin in the outdoor dress greatly impeded transpiration, and it was therefore a natural impulse which led the Eskimo to throw them off in the warm rooms, where they would be particularly unsanitary. When the Europeans came to the country, however, this free-and-easy custom offended their sense of propriety, and the missionaries preached against it. Thus it happens that the national indoor dress has been abolished on the west coast of Greenland. Whether this has led to an improvement in morality, I cannot say — I have my doubts. That it has not been conducive to sanitation, I can unhesitatingly declare." [2]

Tattoo. Tattooing of the face and body is quite common among the Eskimos and is done more by women than by the men. Usually the operation is performed when the person is very young.

Marriage. The pure-bred Eskimo usually marries as soon as he can provide for a wife. It is not love, in our sense of the word, which stimulates him, but rather the desire to have someone who will help to prepare his skins, make his clothes, and tend to his house. It frequently happens that a boy marries before the age of puberty.

"Marriage in Greenland was, in earlier times a very simple matter. When a man had a mind to a girl, he went to her house or tent, seized her by the hair or wherever he could best get hold of her, and dragged her without further ceremony home to his house, where her place was assigned to her upon the sleeping bench. The bridegroom would sometimes give her a lamp and a new water-bucket, or something of that sort, and that concluded the matter. In Greenland, however, as

[1] Adapted from F. Nansen, Eskimo Life, pp. 22 ff.
[2] F. Nansen, Eskimo Life, pp. 26–27.

in other parts of the world, good taste demanded that the lady in question should on no account let it appear that she was a consenting party, however favorably disposed towards her wooer she might be in her heart. As a well-conducted bride among us feels it her duty to weep as she passes up the church, so the Eskimo bride was bound to struggle against her captor, and to wail and bemoan herself as much as ever she could. If she was a lady of the very highest breeding she would weep and 'carry on' for several days, and even run away home again from her husband's house. If she went too far in her care for proprieties, it would sometimes happen, we are told, that the husband, unless he was already tired of her, would scratch her a little on the soles of the feet, so that she could not walk; and before the sores were healed, she was generally a contented housewife.

"The simple method of marriage above described is still the only one known upon the east coast of Greenland, and a good deal of violence is sometimes employed in the carrying off of the bride. The lady's relations, however, stand quite unmoved and look on. It is all a private matter between the parties, and the Greenlander's love of a good understanding with his fellows makes him chary of mixing himself up in the affairs of others.

"It sometimes happens, of course, that the young lady really objects to her wooer; in that case she continues her resistance until she either learns to possess her soul in patience, or until her captor gives her up. . . .

"Among the heathen Greenlanders, divorce is as simple an affair as marriage. When a man grows tired of his wife — the reverse is of rarer occurrence — he need only, says Dalager, 'lie apart from her on the sleeping benches, without speaking a word. She at once takes the hint,' and next morning gathers all her garments together and quietly returns to her parents' house, trying, as well as she can, to appear indifferent. . . .

"On the east coast, if a man can keep more than one wife, he takes another; most of the good hunters, therefore, have two, but never more. It appears that in many cases the first wife does not like to have a rival; but sometimes it is she that suggests the second marriage, in order that she may have help in her household work. Another motive also may come into play. 'I once asked a married woman,' says

Dalager, 'why her husband had taken another wife?' 'I asked him to myself,' she replied, 'for I'm tired of bearing children.'"

"Among the primitive Eskimos the wife seems practically to have been regarded as the husband's property. It sometimes happens on the east coast that a formal bargain and sale precedes marriage, the bridegroom paying the father a harpoon, or something of the sort, for the privilege of wedding his lovely daughter. Sometimes, on the other hand, the father will pay a hunter of credit and renown to take his daughter off his hands, and the daughter is bound to marry at her father's bidding. Moreover, it often occurs on the east coast that two hunters agree to exchange wives for a longer or shorter period — sometimes for good." [1]

Children. "On the average, the pure-bred Greenlanders are not prolific — two, three, or four children to each marriage is the general rule, though there are instances of families of six or eight or even more." [2] This may be due to the fact that frequently children are not weaned until they are four or five years old, and hence the number of children which a mother can bear is limited. Another reason for the few children is that the hard environment will not support a larger population. Twins are uncommon.

"The heathen Greenlanders kill deformed children and those which are so sickly as to seem unlikely to live; those, too, whose mother dies in child-birth. This they do, as a rule, by exposing the child or throwing it into the sea. However cruel it may sound, it is nevertheless done from compassion, and it is undeniably reasonable, for under such hard conditions as those of Greenland, we cannot wonder that people are unwilling to bring up offspring which can never be of any use, and can only help to diminish the common store of sustenance.[3]

Morals. Before the Europeans came in contact with these people the morals were of a very much higher order than they are at the present time. Among the Christian Eskimos it is not regarded as any particular disgrace for an unmarried girl to have children, especially if the father is a European. On the other hand, a man who knew the native Eskimos before the higher civilization was brought to them

[1] F. Nansen, Eskimo Life, pp. 139 ff., 147–148.
[2] Hans Egede, New Perlustration, quoted by Nansen, p. 166.
[3] F. Nansen, Eskimo Life, pp. 151–152.

says: "During the fifteen years I was in Greenland I know of only two or three unmarried girls who gave birth to children, for this they regarded as a great disgrace." [1] However, the strict morality before marriage was relaxed after marriage, for then the sexes were practically free to choose whom they desired.

"The morals above described seem to us very bad on the whole; but it does not follow that the Eskimos share this feeling. We should beware how we fix ourselves at one point of view, and unsparingly condemn ideas and practices which the experience of many generations has developed among other people, however much they conflict with our own. There may be underlying reasons which do not at once meet the eye, and which place the whole matter in a very different light." [2]

Amusements. The pleasures of the Eskimos are very few. In the north, where the people live in snow huts, enjoyment is gotten from making up poetry and singing songs about various brave deeds accomplished on their hunting expeditions. In Greenland to the poetry and songs is added the dance, for the houses there are large enough to permit of this.

One dance of theirs, the drum dance, played a very important part in their life, especially their judicial life. If a man was accused of any crime, both he and the accuser met together in a large house. There, surrounded by their friends, they sang and danced to the accompaniment of a drum. Each tried in his songs to tell of the misdeeds of the other, and so to hold him up to ridicule that all the people would laugh. The man who turned the greatest number of laughs against his opponent won the case. At times it has happened that ridicule has been so strong that the loser was driven into exile. The missionaries considered this a heathen custom and strove successfully to have it abolished.

Religion. The Eskimos are nature worshipers, as are so many of the other savage peoples. They conceive that every stone, mountain, and glacier has its *inua*, or soul. Even tools and weapons have *inue*, so that these things are placed upon the graves to accompany the departed into the future life. There are also beings of a higher order, called *tôrnat*, who can be brought near to man through the medium of the *angekoks* (medicine men). They are the souls of the dead and act as counselors, helpers, or avengers to the medicine men.

[1] F. Nansen, Eskimo Life, pp. 150 ff. [2] Ibid. pp. 169–170.

Above these *tôrnat* is a superior being who is thought to wield a benevolent power, although evil deeds are often attributed to him. His home is in the underworld with the souls of the dead. The conception of his form is different with different people. Some say that he has no form at all; others that he is like a bear; others that he is huge and has only one arm; still others that he is no larger than a finger. When Christianity was introduced, this supreme being was transformed into the devil rather than into God.

Man himself is thought to consist of two parts, the body and the soul, which are entirely distinct from each other. The soul can be seen by the medicine man only, to whom it appears in the same shape as the body, but of a more airy composition. It is very closely connected with the breath. According to some of the people there is in each part of the body a soul which is thought to depart if that member is sick. The soul of man is quite independent and can leave the body at any time to wander at will; this it does every night when, in dreams, it goes hunting or joins in merrymaking. This soul can be lost or stolen by means of witchcraft.

"When the man falls ill, he must get his *angekok* to set off and fetch his soul back again. If, in the meantime, any disaster has happened to it — the man must die. An *angekok*, however, had also power to provide a new soul or exchange a sick soul for a sound, which he could obtain from, say, a hare, a reindeer, a bird, or a young child." [1]

Name. Besides a man's body and soul there is a third element, the name, which plays an important part in his composition.

"Among all Greenlanders, even the Christians, the first child born after the death of a member of the family is almost always called after him, the object being to procure peace for him in his grave. The East Greenlanders believe that the name remains with the body or migrates through different animals, until a child is called by it. It is, therefore, a duty to take care that this is done; if not, evil consequences may follow for the child to whom the name ought to have been given." [2]

The people are afraid of mentioning the name of the dead, and if a living man bears the same name as that of the deceased he will change it. If the departed was named after some animal or abstract object, the word designating it must be altered. This means, therefore, that

[1] F. Nansen, Eskimo Life, p. 228. [2] Ibid. pp. 228–229.

the language is subject to important temporary changes. "The Greenlanders dare not even speak the name of a glacier as they row past it, for fear lest it should be offended and throw off an iceberg." [1]

Death and burial. "Their customs at the death and burial of their friends show how much they fear the dead, and especially their souls or ghosts. The dying are often dressed in their grave clothes — that is to say, in their best garments — a little while before death. The legs, too, are often bent together, so that the feet come up under the back, and in this position they are sewed or swathed in skins. The object is, no doubt, that they may take up less space and need a smaller grave; and it is done during their life in order that the survivors may have to handle their corpses as little as possible. This dread of touching a dead body goes so far that they will not help a man in danger — for example, a kaiak-man who is drowning — when they believe that he is at the point of death.

AN OLD ESKIMO GRAVE
Photograph by Dr. L. M. Waugh

"When they are finally dead, they are taken, if it be in a house, out through the window; if in a tent, through an opening cut in the skins of the back wall.

"The survivors also carry their own possessions out of the house, that the smell of death may pass away from them. They are either brought in again at evening, or, as on the east coast, are left lying out for several days. The relatives of the dead man, on the east coast, go so far as to leave off wearing their old clothes, which they throw away.

"When the body is carried out, a woman sets fire to a piece of

[1] As an example of such change, when Queen Pomare of Tahiti died the word *po* (night) was dropped from the language, and *nri* took its place. — NANSEN, pp. 231, 233

wood, and waves it backwards and forwards, saying, 'There is nothing more to be had here.' This is, no doubt, done with a view to showing the soul that everything belonging to it has been thrown out.

"Bodies are either buried in the earth or thrown into the sea (if one of the dead man's ancestors has perished in a kaiak). The possessions of the deceased — such as his kaiak, weapons, and clothes; or, in the case of a woman, her sewing materials, crooked knife, etc. — are laid on or beside the grave, or, if the body is thrown into the sea, they are laid somewhere upon the beach. This seems to be partly due to their fear of a dead person's property and unwillingness to use it." [1]

Future life. The future life is largely a continuation and repetition of the life on this earth. There is a large mud hut, plenty of rotting seal-heads under the benches to eat, and splendid hunting grounds outside, with plenty of game and continual sunshine.

The other world is situated either under the earth and sea or between the land and sky. In the overworld region the souls dwell in tents around a lake whose overflow causes rain upon the earth. "The souls of the dead can be seen there by night in the form of northern lights, playing football with a walrus head.

"The Eskimos have no hell. Both the above-named regions are more or less good, and whether the soul goes to the one or to the other does not seem to depend particularly upon a man's good or evil acts. . . .

"The destination of the soul may partly depend on the treatment of the body. Paul Egede says that 'it was their custom to take people who were sick unto death gently out of bed, and, laying them on the floor, to swathe them in their grave-clothes. This lowering them down from the bed probably symbolizes their wish that after death they may descend beneath the earth. But if a man dies before he is taken from the bed, his soul goes upward.' On his inquiring why a dog's head was laid beside the grave, he was answered 'that it was a custom among some of their fellows to lay a dog's head beside a child when it was buried, in order that it might scent about and guide the child to the land of spirits when it came to life again, children being foolish and witless, and unable to find their own way.'" [2]

Government. The government of the Eskimos is truly of the patriarchal type, for each father is the ruler of his own family. There are no chiefs or political military rulers, but a good hunter is given

[1] F. Nansen, Eskimo Life, pp. 245 ff. [2] Ibid. pp. 235–236.

certain consideration in his little village. There is no political or social tie between the villages, although the people are friendly to one another, and under no consideration will they fight.

The Eskimos of today. The Eskimos today are a fast-disappearing race, owing largely to the fact that the civilization of another race has been brought to them which they have been unable to assimilate. Firearms have been introduced among them, with the result that game of all kinds is rapidly vanishing. Money has been given to them, and whereas they formerly gave away to their poorer neighbors those things of which they had an abundance and which were perishable, they now sell them for gold to the traders.

"But the worst of all is the irreparable injury which all our European commodities have done to him [the Eskimo]. We have been so immoral as to let him acquire a taste for coffee, tobacco, bread, European stuffs and finery; and he has bartered away to us his indispensable sealskins and blubber to procure all these things which give him only a moment's doubtful enjoyment. In the meantime his woman-boat has gone to ruin for want of skins, his tent likewise, and even his kaiak, the essential condition of his existence, will often lie uncovered on the beach. The lamps in his house have often to be extinguished in the winter, because the autumn store of blubber has been sold to the Company. He himself must go on winter days clad in European rags instead of in the warm fur garments he used to have. . . .

"Disease has of late years increased alarmingly. It is especially the Greenlanders' scourge, consumption, or more properly tuberculosis, which makes ever wider ravages. There can be few places in the world where so large a proportion of the population is attacked by it. It is not quite clear whether we imported this disease into Greenland, but most probably we did; at any rate, our influence has in more ways than one tended strongly to promote the spread of this and other contagious diseases. Tuberculosis is now so common that it is almost easier to number those who are not attacked by it than those who are." [1]

Lastly, their religion has been largely taken away from them and Christianity has been substituted.

[1] F. Nansen, Eskimo Life, pp. 330–332.

"What part of Christianity is most to be valued, its dogmas or its moral teaching? It seems to me that even the best Christian must admit it is the latter which is of enduring value; for history can teach him how variable and uncertain the interpretation of the dogmas has always been. Of what value, then, have these dogmas, which he understands so imperfectly, been to the Eskimo? Can anyone seriously maintain that it is a matter of essential moment to a people what dogmas it professes to believe in? Must not the moral laws which it obeys always be the matter of primary concern? And the Eskimo morality was, as we have seen, in many respects at least as good as that of the Christian communities. So that the result of all our teaching has been that, in this respect too, the race has degenerated.

"And lastly comes this question: Can an Eskimo who is nominally a Christian, but who cannot support his family, is in ill-health, and is sinking into deeper and deeper misery, be held much more enviable than a heathen who lives in 'spiritual darkness,' but can support his family, is robust in body, and thoroughly contented with life? From the Eskimo standpoint, at any rate, the answer cannot be doubtful. If he could see his true interest, the Eskimo would assuredly put up this fervent petition: God save me from my friends, my enemies I can deal with myself."[1]

[1] F. Nansen, Eskimo Life, pp. 339–340.

CHAPTER XV

NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS

A general description of the North American Indians is a very difficult task. There are so many hundreds of tribes scattered over millions of square miles of territory, living in all sorts and conditions of environments from the sun-baked deserts to the fertile plains and forest-clad hills, that there have arisen almost as many different cultures as there are tribes. However, we shall attempt the impossible and give a broad consideration to the various economic and social characteristics of the civilization of these early inhabitants of North America.

Origin. The first problem of general interest is the age of man in America. We know that the cradle of the human race was somewhere in the warmer portions of the Old World, and up to the present time there is no evidence to prove that man has been in America for any long period of time. In fact, the oldest remains do not date back farther than the last glacial period, and most of them to a more recent date.

From time to time it is reported from California that skulls and implements have been discovered in beds of gravel which geologists agree are of Tertiary age. If this could actually be proved, then we could say that the age of man in America goes back far into antiquity. However, critical examination of the evidence has cast grave doubt on the authenticity of most of these discoveries, and the attitude of the majority of scientists is one of decided skepticism.

"The chief objections to the evidence are as follows: the history of the finds is uncertain, it being even claimed that some of them were the results of practical jokes; in most cases the implements found are the same as those used by Indians living in the vicinity, which are extremely common on the surface above the deposits; none of the objects show signs of having been subjected to the action of the violent torrents which formed the gravel beds; finally, some of the implements seem to be made of rock of more recent formations than the

gravels themselves. Without going into further detail, it is enough to say that the presence of man in America at such an early date is extremely doubtful." [1]

If, then, the Indians did not originate in America, where did they come from and to what other race or races are they most closely related? In answering the first question it is interesting to trace briefly some of the theories of scientists and others to account for the appearance of man on the American continents. One of the most fanciful was advanced by Donnelly in his book "Atlantis, the Antediluvian World." He sets forth the idea that at one time there was a large continent where the Atlantic Ocean now is, and that this extended from America over to the Canaries, the Madeiras, and the Azores. In a great cataclysm of nature this continent sank, leaving only a few islands. The great rush of the waters gave rise, according to Donnelly, to the story of the flood.

A CHIPPEWAY

Courtesy of the Museum of the American Indian

It was on Atlantis that man first rose from barbarism to civilization. It was there that those mythical places, the Garden of Eden, the Garden of the Hesperides, the Elysian fields, and Olympus, were located. From this continent the people spread to both North and South America, to the Mediterranean, and to Europe and Africa. Geologists have proved conclusively that no continent of that size ever existed in the Atlantic Ocean, and the anthropologists have brought forth proofs to show that the rest of Donnelly's theories have no foundation in fact.

[1] L. Farrand, Basis of American History, pp. 70–71. Reprinted by permission of the publishers, Harper & Brothers.

One ethnologist has tried to trace the origin of the Indians to Scandinavia and thence to America via the Atlantic Ocean by way of Iceland. But there seems to be no basis for this idea, and so it may be dismissed at once.

Gerland has briefly summarized one theory which has had a fairly large following in the past. It is generally supposed that they (the American Indians) migrated from the north, coming from Asia across Behring Strait; but this appears contradicted by the fact that peoples who become accustomed (as had the northern Asiatics) to a northern climate do not move southward again. Besides, the natural conditions of northern countries prevent such increase of population as would render emigration necessary. And further, the history of the cultivation of Indian corn seems to lead to the conclusion that the people who had used it had spread from the south northward. We therefore feel justified in concluding that the Americans migrated from China or Japan across the Pacific Ocean at a very early period — during the latest diluvial formation. It is not necessary to suppose that the migratory movements were intentional: they were produced, no doubt, by causes such as are yet occasionally seen. Sometimes the ocean currents were the cause, but more frequently the western winds, which are very strong in winter and blow across the entire width of the Pacific Ocean. Examples are not rare of the endurance of barbarous people and of their ability to sustain life on the ocean for long periods; on the other hand, there are instances of comparatively short passages across that immense body of water.

"If, then, the original settlers of America were driven by the winds across the ocean from Asia, they most probably landed on the northern coast of South America, because the winds generally blow from the northwest. That the population of the continent spread from that center is shown by its equal distribution, which diminishes towards the extreme North and South, by the distribution of the maize, and by the development in civilization of the tribes of Central America and North-western South America." [1]

In commenting on this theory Clark says:

"A few accidental visitors may have wandered across the Pacific from the South Sea Islands; but this could have been only after the perfection of the art of navigation by these people, and America was

[1] G. K. C. Gerland, Iconographic Encyclopædia of the Arts and Sciences, p. 211.

probably settled long before navigation or boat building had reached any advanced stage. It is unlikely that any number of people ever came across the Pacific, because of the enormous distance to be traversed with both wind and current against them. Such visitors as might have come by this route can be considered only as purely accidental; their survival on arrival is very doubtful, for primitive men, like the anthropoid apes, are singularly sensitive to any change in their environment. To be worthy of any serious consideration, any migration route by which primitive man may be supposed to enter a country must be shown to possess the possibility of very gradual acclimatization and very gradual adjustment to the new conditions. The difference between the conditions in the South Sea Islands and on the western coast of South America would in itself seem to be a conclusive argument against the settlement of America by that route." [1]

A NAVAHO MAN SEWING UPPERS ON MOCCASINS

Courtesy of the Museum of the American Indian

Gerland's statement that a people never move from a colder climate into a warmer one, and therefore that the northern Asiatics would not have moved south, may be answered by assuming that at some earlier period the northern regions were very much warmer than they now are. If this was the case, then, in their movement south, the people were merely continuing in their same climatic zone and not moving from a colder to a warmer one.

Of all the theories which attempt to account for the arrival of the American Indians on this continent, the one which claims that they crossed from Asia via Alaska is accepted by a large number of the scientists. There are two possible crossings here: either by way of

[1] A. H. Clark, in the *American Anthropologist* (New Series, 1912), Vol. XIV, p. 29.

the Aleutian Islands or across Behring Strait. Off the Aleutian chain and the continent of Asia lies a stretch of sea some three hundred and fifty miles in width, and now one of the foggiest, roughest, and most continuously tempestuous seas in the world. Through this stretch pours the Arctic current in a southwesterly direction, with a rate of nearly a mile an hour to the southward in quiet weather. It is true that the Commander Islands lie a little to the northward in this gap, but no relics of habitation by man previous to Behring's voyage have been found on them, and the discovery there of the sea cow, which had previously been exterminated for use as food wherever man is known to have been, is good evidence that primitive man had never invaded the last refuge of this now extinct species.

A NAVAHO WOMAN

Courtesy of the Museum of the American Indian

"We must suppose that man on first arriving in America was in a low state of culture, and, while perhaps possessed of rude canoes, would not have had means of navigating a stormy sea, three hundred and fifty miles wide, without compass, star guides, or landmark, and across a current that would have swept him far to the southward of the Aleutians before he could possibly have reached in canoes the most westerly members of the group. My conclusion is that migration from Asia to America by the Aleutian chain was absolutely impossible to primitive men, and that this route must be discarded from our hypotheses.

"The next region to be considered is that about Behring Strait. Here we have shallow water, not exceeding two hundred feet in depth anywhere between the continents at the strait, and to reach a point where the sea is seventy-five fathoms deep one must go several

hundred miles northward. The so-called Seward or Kaviak peninsula reaches out toward Asia from the American continental mass, and only about fifty miles away, on the Asiatic eastern extreme, rises East Cape to a commanding height. Midway of the strait are the small but inhabited islands called the Diomedes." [1]

During the winter months there is an enormous amount of ice in the straits. As a rule the ice is not at a standstill, but there are times when it is stationary and strong enough to bear the weight of human beings.

"It is, therefore, eminently probable that the migration from Asia took place when the culture of the invaders was sufficiently advanced for them to be able to cross the strait in canoes; or, like the present Eskimo, they may have, during glaciation, followed the marine mammals, the walrus and the seal, along the edges of immovable floe ice closing the strait perhaps for some centuries." [1]

Having discussed the question as to how the Indians reached America, we will now try to answer the second question, as to who their closest relations are in the human family. This has puzzled a good many people almost as much as the question we have just tried to answer.

"Arguments have been advanced to prove them Carthaginians, Greeks, Egyptians, Trojans, Hindus, Chinese, Japanese, Celts, Scythians, and even the lost tribes of Israel. Some think that they are an amalgamated result of many migrations from many lands, extending back over scores of centuries, and that they have become a distinct type of man through the influence of new conditions." [2] Still others hold that they had their origin in this country, but this argument has been answered in another part of this chapter.

After carefully studying the races of the world we find that there is one group which includes people ranging from yellowish white to dark brown in color, with long straight black hair, scanty beard, little hair on the body, an eye that is more or less slanting, a narrow nose, medium prognathism, and in most of the other essential features much like the American Indian. This group, which embraces many nationalities and tribes, occupies the eastern half of Asia and a large part of Polynesia.

[1] W. H. Dall, in the *American Anthropologist* (New Series, 1912), Vol. XIV, pp. 13 ff.

[2] A. J. Fynn, The American Indian as a Product of Environment, pp. 21 ff. By permission of the author.

"From the physical anthropologist's point of view everything indicates that the origin of the American Indian is to be sought among the yellowish-brown peoples mentioned. There are no two large branches of humanity on the globe that show closer fundamental physical relations.

"But difficulties arise when we endeavor to assign the origin of the Indian to some particular branch of the yellowish-brown population. We find that he stands quite as closely related to some of the Malaysian peoples as to the Tibetans, the upper Yenisei natives, and some of the northeastern Asiatics. It is doubtless this fact that accounts for some of the hypotheses concerning the origin of the Indian that attribute his derivation partly to the 'Tartars' and partly to the Polynesians." [1]

MANDAN INDIANS

From an old print. (Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York)

One further argument to prove the relationship of the people of America to those in Asia, and the path by which they came, is the study of the Eskimos. This group living in the Far North and, therefore, nearest the accepted path of migration, bear a closer physical resemblance to the Mongolians than any other people of America. As one moves away from the cold regions the similarity becomes less, until finally in South America the features are only slightly Mongolian.

In summary we may say, then, that the age of man in America is not great, that he came to this continent from Asia via Behring Strait, and that he is closely related to the yellow race.

[1] W. H. Dall, in the *American Anthropologist* (New Series, 1912), Vol. XIV, pp. 10–11.

Physical features. Although it is true that a detailed study of the physical features of the American Indians will show that there is a good deal of deviation in different sections of the country, nevertheless they have so many features in common that they may be regarded as members of a single race, admitting of a general description.

The Indian is frequently referred to as the "red man." This is really a misnomer, for his skin is various shades of brown, at times even approaching the very dark skin of the negro. When the European settlers first landed on the eastern shores of the continent they were confronted by the Indian in his red war paint, and hence they termed him the "red man." The hair is long, straight, and black and is not abundant on the face or the body. In stature the Indian averages about five feet eight or ten inches, although in the Far North and extreme South they are somewhat shorter, and on the prairies they are about six feet or over.

A SIOUX INDIAN

From a model. (Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York)

"The face is well rounded and agreeable in childhood, interesting and occasionally handsome during adolescence and earlier adult life, and agreeable, but much wrinkled in old age. The forehead in adults with undeformed skulls is somewhat low and in males slopes slightly backward. The eyebrows, where not plucked, are frequently connected by sparser hair above the nose. The eyelashes are moderately thick and long. The apertures of the eyes are slightly oblique. In children the fold called Mongolic is general but not excessive. The root of the nose is depressed, as in most whites, with an aquiline bridge predominating in men. In many men the point of the nose

is lower than the base of the septum. Thin noses are not found. The lips are well formed and, barring individual exceptions, about as thick as in average whites. Prognathism is greater than in whites. The cheek bones are usually prominent, but with lateral rather than high projection. In some regions this feature is not evident." [1]

Disease. It is very difficult to determine the nature of the diseases that prevailed among the Indians before the arrival of the whites. It is, of course, safe to assume that they had a certain number of maladies, for their plant lore, in which various vegetable substances are given healing properties, show us that they had discovered the value of herbs. Then, too, the medicine man of each tribe was one of the most feared and honored members of the group, and while much of his work was hocus-pocus, yet he did know a good deal about healing disease and attending to wounds. As far as we are able to determine from skeleton remains and other sources the Indian was spared such diseases as smallpox, typhus, cholera, scarlet fever, and cancer.

With the arrival of the whites there came to the Indians many of the diseases of civilization that have proved disastrous to other peoples of low culture. Disorders of the gastrointestinal tract and such lung troubles as pneumonia and tuberculosis have carried off large numbers of the Indians. The former group of diseases are due in infancy to improper feeding and to the almost universal consumption of uncooked, unripe fruit and vegetables, and in later life to the lack of food at some times and the overindulgence at others, to the preference for fat, crudely prepared food, and recently to the excessive use of inferior baking powders and coffee. Even such an illness as measles, which among the whites is considered of minor importance, killed off whole villages in a few days.

The pure-blooded Indians that remain today seem to suffer very little from insanity, idiocy, and rachitis and are not especially susceptible to serious afflictions of the liver and kidneys, the heart, arteries, and veins. Congenital malformations are very rare, but when they do occur the children are put to death. "There is considerable doubt whether cancer occurs in any form. Venereal diseases, while predominating among the more degraded Indians, are more or less effectually guarded against by others." [2]

[1] Handbook of American Indians, *Bulletin No. 30*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Vol. I, p. 54.

[2] Ibid. pp. 540–541.

Artificial head deformation. Certain of the Indian tribes, especially those along the Pacific coast, practiced artificial head deformation on an extensive scale. At a very early age the head of the child would be compressed by means of a board or cushion strapped to the forehead so that this portion would become flat. Another form was made by binding the skull all the way around with bandages, so that the result was a more or less conical, truncated, baglike, or irregular deformity.

The reason for doing this was the same as we find in other parts of the world; namely, to reach a certain type of beauty. A person with a nicely deformed skull was held in great esteem, for it was regarded as a mark of distinction and superiority.

"The effects of the various deformations on brain function and growth, as well as on the health of the individual, are apparently insignificant. The tribes that practised it show no indication of greater mortality at any age than those among which it does not exist, nor do they show a larger percentage of imbeciles or of insane or neuropathic individuals. The deformation, once acquired, persists through life, the skull and brain compensating for the compression by augmented extension in directions of least resistance. No hereditary effect is perceptible. The custom of head deformation among the Indians, on the whole, is gradually decreasing, and the indications are that in a few generations it will have ceased to exist." [1]

Character and temperament. "The idea of the Indian, once popular, suggests a taciturn and stolid character who smoked his pipe in silence and stalked reserved and dignified among his fellows. Unquestionably the Indian of the Atlantic slope differed in many respects from his kinsmen farther west. It may be that the forest Indian of the North and East imbibed something of the spirit of the primeval woods which, deep and gloomy, overspread much of his region. If so, he has no counterpart in the regions west of the Mississippi. On occasions of ceremony and religion the Western Indian can be both dignified and solemn as befits the occasion; but his nature, if not as bright and sunny as that of the Polynesians, is, at least, as far removed from moroseness as his disposition is from taciturnity." [2]

"It has been so commonly the fashion to describe the American

[1] Handbook of American Indians, *Bulletin No. 30*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Vol. I, pp. 96–97.

[2] Ibid. Vol. II, p. 286.

Indian as 'the stoic of the woods without a tear,' that he has generally been denied as well the possession of a sense of humor. That he does not lack such, however, will readily be admitted by anyone who has come to know the Indian as he is, has shared his meals and his camp fire, and had the opportunity of enjoying the real wit and humor abounding in common speech and in ancient legend. The pun, the jest of all kinds, the practical joke, the double-entendre, of which he is sometimes past-master, are all known to him. Particularly does the awkward action or the inexpert movement of the white man incite him to laughter. Like the white man, he has a fund of wit at the expense of the weaker sex and its peculiarities. The Eskimo and the Pueblos especially are merry, laughing people, who jest and trifle through all the grades from quiet sarcasm to the loudest joke. This appears in their songs and legends, in which humor and satire are constantly cropping out." [1]

AN APACHE

Courtesy of the Museum of the American Indian

"'A brave demeanor, slow action, and pulse less rapid than the inhabitants of the Old World,' are the distinctive attributes assigned by M. Reclus to the aborigines generally, while wariness is declared to be the dominant quality of the Indian hunter. He searches space with a scrutinizing glance, notices the trace of footsteps on the ground, studies the crumpled leaf and twisted branch, lends his ear to distant sounds, ceaselessly questions surrounding nature, and in it reads the brewing storm. His mind is ever on the watch, his imagination ever rich in stratagem, his patience still unflagging. He

[1] Handbook of American Indians, *Bulletin No. 30*, Bureau of American Ethnology Vol. I, p. 578.

can glide stealthily through the foliage, drift with the floating log, creep round to leeward of the game, catch the scent and, undetected, crawl through the grass to take him unawares. With the enemy, or even with the stranger, who may still be a foe, as the pale-face is for the most part, he is still the crafty hunter. He keeps on his guard and hides his feelings under an impassive countenance; seeming neither to hear nor to understand — he sees all and remembers what may be needed to ward off or anticipate attack. Should he fall into the hands of a stronger or more cunning adversary, his mind is already made up. He feels that it is due to himself, due to his tribe, still to maintain his haughty bearing, still to defy his captors. The early writers tell us how, chained to the stake, he urged the women and children to tear his flesh, to sever his limbs, to burn him at a slow fire and how, feeling the approach of death, he intoned his war-song so that his last breath might still be a death rattle of scorn and pride. Such scenes, unparalleled elsewhere, are no fancy pictures; they have been actually witnessed by white men even in the present century. Equal endurance is displayed by young and old under their fearful ordeals and self-inflicted tortures, such as those of which George Catlin was a spectator during his residence among the now extinct Mandans of the Missouri valley. The scenes described by that observer are of such a harrowing nature as almost to pass the bounds of credibility, and indeed some of the trials of endurance have been questioned or declared impossible on physiological grounds alone." [1]

According to Morgan, who made a careful study of the Iroquois, these people had a simple integrity; they were generous, they afforded unbounded hospitality to strangers and to their own tribesmen who came from afar, and above all they had a deep love of truth. This inborn sentiment flourished in the period of their highest prosperity in all the freshness of its primeval purity. On all occasions, and at whatever peril, the Iroquois spoke the truth without fear and without hesitation. Dissimulation was not an Indian habit. In fact, the language of the Iroquois does not admit of double speaking or of the perversion of the words of the speaker. It is simple and direct, not admitting of those shades of meaning and those nice discriminations which pertain to polished languages. After their discovery, in

[1] A. H. Keane, Ethnology, pp. 353–354.

their intercourse with the whites, their native truthfulness was sometimes corrupted by traffic and intemperance; but, as a people, they have preserved to this day the same elevation of sentiment in this particular which characterized their ancestors.

"To the faith of treaties the Iroquois adhered with unwavering fidelity. Having endured the severest trials of political disaster, this faith furnishes one of the proudest monuments of their national integrity. They held fast to the 'covenant chain' with the British until they were themselves deserted, and their entire country became the forfeit of their fidelity. In their numerous transactions with the several provinces formed out of their ancient territories, no serious cause of complaint was found against them for the non-fulfilment of treaty stipulations, although they were shorn of their possessions by treaty after treaty, and oftentimes made the victims of deception and fraud."[1]

Numbers. The question as to the number of Indians that inhabited North America at the time of the coming of the whites is one which has caused much speculation. One group says that there were millions here when the settlers first arrived; and another group maintains that in spite of wars, diseases of civilization, both physical and moral, in spite of the fact that we know that whole regions and tribes have been wiped out, the number of Indians is greater now than ever before. Both these statements are false. The first is owing to the fact that the Indians naturally settled along the seacoast and on the banks of rivers, streams, and lakes where fish were plentiful and transportation easy. The white settlers assumed that if this portion of the land was so thickly settled, the whole country must be in like measure populated; hence the statement that there were many millions here.

It is hardly necessary to answer the second conjecture about the size of the population, for any thinking person knows that the death rate among the Indians has been very great. For instance, in 1830 a fever killed seventy thousand natives in California, and at about the same time in Oregon malaria carried off whole tribes. The early miners and settlers in California by cruelties and wholesale massacres reduced the population from a quarter of a million to twenty thousand.

"A careful study of population conditions for the whole territory

[1] L. H. Morgan, League of the Iroquois, Vol. I, pp. 326–327.

north of Mexico, taking each geographic section separately, indicates a total population, at the time of the coming of the white man, of nearly 1,150,000 Indians, which is believed to be within 10 per cent of the actual number. Of this total 846,000 were within the limits of the United States proper, 220,000 in British America, 72,000 in Alaska, and 10,000 in Greenland. The original total is now reduced to about 403,000, a decrease of about 65 per cent." [1]

Language. The languages of the Indians north of Mexico may be divided into fifty-nine independent groups. At the present time it is impossible to trace these back to one parent tongue, yet some few things seem to indicate that at a time far in antiquity these numerous families may have had a common beginning. Each one of these groups is made up of numerous dialects, sometimes as many as twenty in one stock, so that it is impossible for an Indian from one part of the country to make himself understood in another district by means of his spoken language. It even happens that tribes only a short distance apart are not able to converse. To many people this is a great surprise, for they think that if a person speaks "Indian" he can be understood anywhere.[2]

Frequently a tribe will have two languages, one used and known only by the priests, the other by the common people. Other tribes have certain words that are especially tabooed to women, so that in one tribe there will be two almost distinct vocabularies.

Most of the languages of the American Indians are polysynthetic; that is, many words will be fused into one until sometimes there are from ten to fifteen syllables in a single word. This point may be illustrated by the Eskimo word *takusariartorumagalvarnerpa?* ("do you think he really intends to go to look after it?"). The word is made up of the following elements: *takusar*, "he looks after it"; *iartor*, "he goes to"; *uma*, "he intends to"; *galvar*, "he does so, but"; *nerpa?* "do you think he?"

It is impossible to estimate the number of words in any one American language, owing to the number of derivatives, but it is pretty

[1] Handbook of American Indians, *Bulletin No. 30*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Vol. II, pp. 286–287.

[2] There are a good many words in the English language that come to us directly from the Indians. Such words as "chocolate," "squash," "mush," "hominy," "pone," "succotash," are pure Indian words, and "tobacco," which we use to designate the plant, in the Indian tongue meant a roll of leaves from the plant; that is, a cigar.

certain that in each language there are two thousand stem words. Throughout the country the vocabularies are rich and the grammatical structure systematic and intricate.

"Grammatical gender based on sex distinction is very rare in America. It is based on other qualities, as animate and inanimate, or noble and ignoble, and often relates only to shape, as round, long, or flat. Complete absence of such classification is frequent. Plurality is seldom clearly developed; it is often absent even in the pronoun; its place is taken by the ideas of collectivity and distribution, which are expressed more often than plurality. Tense also is weakly developed in many languages, although others have a complex system of tenses. Like other adverbial ideas tense is often expressed by affixes. Moods and voice of the verb are also sometimes undeveloped and are expressed by affixes." [1]

Sign language. In a country where so many different languages and dialects were spoken it was necessary for tribes who came in frequent contact with each other, either on the field of battle or on the hunting ground, to devise some common-sense means of communication. It would have been an almost impossible task for each tribe to learn the dialects of all the others, and so through a slow process of development there was evolved the sign language.

"In its evolution the sign language appears to have followed the same lines along which, according to the theory of most philologists, human speech developed, viz., a gradual progress from the representative to the conventional, from the picture to the arbitrary symbol, the sign language, however, being still chiefly in the representative or pantomimic stage. It may, in fact, be described as a motional equivalent of the Indian pictograph, the conventional sign being usually a close reference to the predominant characteristic of the object in shape, habit or purpose. The signs are made almost entirely with the hands, either one or both. Minor differences exist, like dialects in spoken languages, the differences being naturally greatest at the two extremes of the sign language area, but even with these slight dissimilarities a Sioux or a Blackfoot from the upper Missouri has no difficulty in communicating with a visiting Kiowa or Comanche from the Texas border on any subject from the negotiating of a

[1] Handbook of American Indians, *Bulletin No. 30*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Vol. I, p. 758.

treaty to the recital of a mythic story or the telling of a hunting incident. The claim of any particular tribe to having invented the system may be set down as mere boasting, but it is universally admitted that the Crows, Cheyenne, and Kiowa are most expert in its use; and the tribes east and west of the central area, namely, the Omaha, Kansa, Osage, and others near the Missouri, and the

A NAVAHO MEDICINE LODGE WITH SAND PAINTINGS

From a model. (Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York)

Ute and Shoshoni in the mountains, know less of it. In fluent grace of movement a conversation in the sign language between a Cheyenne and a Kiowa is the very poetry of motion.

"It has been stated, the signs in every case are founded on some tangible or symbolic characteristic, although by abbreviation or 'wearing down,' as in a spoken language, the resemblance has frequently been obscured and conventionalized. Thus the sign for *man* is made by throwing out the hand, back outward, with index finger extended upward, apparently having reference to an old root word in many Indian languages which defines *man* as the erect animal. *Woman* is indicated by a sweeping downward movement of the hand at the side of the head, with fingers extended toward the hair to

denote long flowing hair or the combing of flowing locks. A *white man* is distinguished as the hat wearer, either by drawing the index finger across the forehead or by clasping the forehead with outstretched thumb and index finger. For *Indian* the speaker rubs the back of his left hand, or, perhaps, his cheek, with the palm of the right to indicate a person whose skin is of the same color. The sign having obtained this conventional meaning, it may be used equally by a white man to convey the same idea. Each tribe is designated by a special sign combination, usually the equivalent of the common name in the various spoken languages. Thus, for *Blackfoot*, the speaker touches his moccasin and then rubs his fingers upon something black. For *Ute* he makes the sign for black man. For *Pawnee*, 'wolf people' of the Plains tribes, he throws up the right hand, with two fingers apart and pointing upward and forward, at the side of the head to indicate erect ears of a wolf, following this with the sign for man, as already explained. Another suggested interpretation is 'Horn people' from a peculiar scalp lock formerly worn by the Pawnee. A *tipi* is shown by bringing both index fingers together like an inverted V (∧), to indicate the conical shape and the crossing of the poles. An ordinary house would be distinguished by adding the sign for white man. The *buffalo*, and in later days a *cow*, is indicated by crooking the index finger at the side of the head to resemble a horn. A *dog* is indicated by drawing the hand, with first and second fingers spread apart, across in front of the body, typifying the old-time travois dragged by the animal when used as a beast of burden.

"*Eating* and *drinking* are indicated by signs easily intelligible. *Sleeping* is indicated by inclining the head to one side, with the open palm held just below, typifying the recumbent attitude of repose. As days, or rather nights, are counted by 'sleeps' the same sign may mean a *day* when used in connection with enumeration, indicated by the motion of counting upon the fingers. In the same way *cold* is indicated by a shivering movement of the clenched hands in front of the body, and as Indians count years by winters or 'cold' seasons, it signifies also a *year* in another context. The hand upright and turned upon the wrist, with fingers apart and extended, indicates the *question sign*, and a somewhat similar but slower gesture means vacillation; that is, *may be*.

"Reduced to action, the question 'How old are you?' becomes

(1) point finger at subject — you; (2) cold sign — *winter, year*; (3) counting sign — *number*; (4) question sign — *how many?* An expert can go through the whole movement in about the time required to put the spoken question, with the advantage that he can be understood by an Indian of any language from Canada to Texas.

"Some signs are beautifully symbolic. Thus, fatigue is shown by a downward and outward sweep of the two hands in front of the body, index fingers extended, giving a gesture-picture of utter collapse. *Bad* is indicated by a motion of throwing away, *truth* by signs for straight talk, and *falsehood* by the talk sign, with another for *different directions*; i.e., 'talking two ways.'" [1]

One great trouble with the sign language is the difficulty of expressing connecting or grammatical words. The following petition of one chief to another is given, first translated into correct English and next showing only the words that could be expressed in the sign language.

"I arrived here today to make a treaty. I have with me one hundred lodges which are camped beyond the Black Hills near the Yellowstone River. You are a great chief. Take pity on me, for I am poor, and I have five children who are sick and without food. The snow is deep, and the weather is very cold."

"I — arrive — today — make — treaty. My — hundred — lodge — camp — beyond — hills — Black — near — river — Elk. You — chief — great — to — pity — I — poor — my — five-child — sick — food — wiped — out — snow — deep — cold — strong."

Writing. Before the Europeans came to this country the majority of the peoples north of Mexico had no way to record their thoughts and their histories except by means of picture-writing. All the languages of the Indians are capable of being written, for they possess rich vocabularies, but no peoples had made the discovery that marks can represent sounds.

The pictures that are left to us are found on the walls of caves, on the side of cliffs, and on stones, skins, and pottery. In a great many cases the thought conveyed by the pictures is a simple concrete one, such as the picture of a man to indicate a man, or a deer to mean a deer.

"Neither in modeling nor sculpture, however, was the skill of the Indian artist sufficient for the accurate delineation of animate or in-

[1] Handbook of American Indians, *Bulletin No. 30*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Vol. II, pp. 567–568.

animate objects, nor was such accuracy essential to his purpose; hence, when attempting the specific portrayal of animals, his end was attained chiefly by emphasizing prominent and unmistakable features, a method which soon led to the elimination of everything but essentials.

"From the earliest form of picture-writing, the imitative, the Indian had progressed so far as to frame his conceptions ideographically, and even to express abstract ideas. Later, as skill was acquired, his figures became more and more conventionalized, till in many cases all semblance of the original was lost, and the ideograph became a mere symbol. While the great body of Indian glyphs remained pure ideographs, symbols were by no means uncommonly employed, especially to express religious subjects, and a rich color symbolism likewise was developed, notable in the southwest."[1]

[1] Handbook of American Indians, *Bulletin No. 30*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Vol. II, p. 243.

CHAPTER XVI

NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS (CONTINUED)

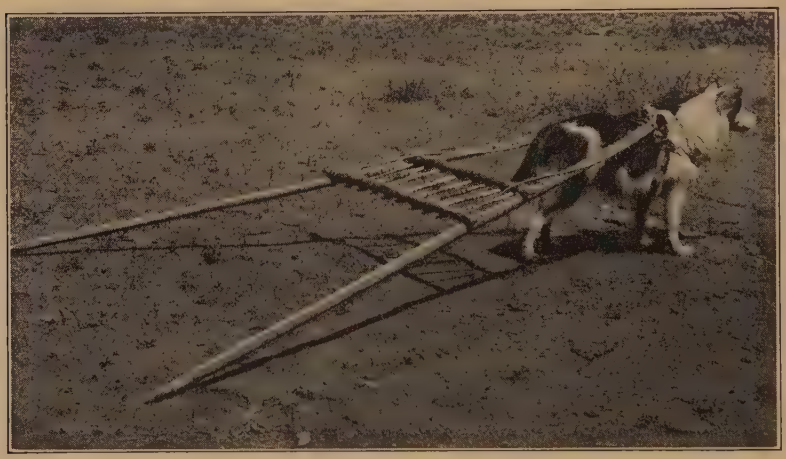
Self-maintenance. The food supply of the American Indians was extremely varied, owing to the fact that the people were scattered over a wide range of territory. Those living in the forests of the north and the northeast were hunters, but part of the land was fertile enough to permit them to raise great quantities of corn and other agricultural products. The peoples on the plains were hunters, but as a rule they did not stay in one place long enough to permit them to grow corn. The Indians of the arid region of the southwest developed a rather elaborate irrigation system, so that they were able to raise various vegetables. In the northwest the people depended on fish as their main article of diet, although they were not averse to meat and products of the soil.

One of the lowest groups lived inland from the Texas coast. In the sixteenth century Cabeza de Vaca wrote of the food of these Yguases: "Their support is principally roots, which require roasting two days; many are very bitter. Occasionally they take deer, and at times take fish; but the quantity is so small and the famine so great, that they eat spiders and the eggs of ants, worms, lizards, salamanders, snakes, and vipers that kill whom they strike; and they eat earth and wood, and all that there is, the dung of deer, and other things that I omit to mention; and I honestly believe that were there stones in that land they would eat them. They save the bones of the fishes they consume, of snakes and other animals, that they may afterward beat them together and eat the powder."

Almost as much may be said of the Maidu of California, who, in addition to consuming every edible vegetable produced, ate badgers, skunks, wildcats, mountain lions, practically all birds except the buzzard, yellow-jacket larvæ, grasshoppers, locusts, crickets, and even salmon bones and deer vertebræ.

Between the widely scattered groups were tribes whose diet varied with their environmental conditions, some consuming more corn,

others more meat. There was also a great seasonal variation in the diet, for as the vegetables became scarce the people turned more and more to meat. Religion also played a prominent part in determining the food of most of the tribes. For instance, the Apache and the Navaho would not eat fish nor the flesh of the bear or beaver, because they were totemic animals; other tribes had a taboo on different animals that were good to eat and would have given them a more varied diet. Most of the Indians preferred to have their food cooked.



A BLACKFOOT INDIAN DOG TRAVOIS

Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York

Practically all vegetable food requires cooking to make it edible; but meat may be consumed raw, especially certain soft parts, such as the liver or the heart. Not infrequently both animal and vegetable substances were allowed to reach an advanced stage of putrefaction before they were eaten, and in this condition they were regarded as great delicacies. The Alaska Indians would store salmon eggs in the sand until they were well advanced in decay and would then eat them with a relish.

The Indians showed great ingenuity in their methods of cooking. They would broil meat at the end of a stick over a fire, or they would roast it before the blaze or in pit ovens. When they came to boiling they would fill a skin or a basket with water, sink it in the ground, and then drop in hot stones until the water was boiling; the meat or corn

would then be put in, and the water kept at a constant temperature with stones until it was cooked.

Hunting. The methods of collecting animal food necessarily varied with the section of the country. Along the coast the Indians gathered oysters, dug up clams, and captured crabs and lobsters that were found near the beaches. They were fond of eggs, and so they robbed birds' nests, and even went out on moonless nights to seize the birds on their nests. This custom developed especially in hunting the pelican. After the birds were knocked down by the men and the boys the entire tribe would gorge upon the uncleaned, uncooked meat. Sometimes this orgy of food would last for days or weeks, according to the number of birds killed. They developed great skill and cunning in devising ways and means of outwitting the animals and capturing them unawares. Usually they had weapons, but they took great pride in catching an animal (the larger the better) with no implements other than their two hands. The traps, pits, and snares were very similar to those found in other parts of the world. The Tenankutchin of Alaska built a brush fence many miles long. At intervals they placed snares into which they drove the deer, moose, and caribou. On the plains pitfalls were frequently dug and covered over with branches and grass. Into these the unsuspecting deer and antelope would fall and could then be quickly dispatched.

There were no regular hunting dogs, but the common camp cur which was to be found in most of the tribes became proficient in the art of chasing and capturing birds and small game.

The practice which today is called "jacking" was first used by the Indians. In the front of a canoe they would have a flaming torch, which would blind the eyes of a deer; the natural curiosity of the animal would hold it at the shore until the Indian was within shooting distance. On the plains fire was used in another way to aid in the killing of herds of animals: the grass was set on fire, and as the crazed animals tried to escape the flames they were shot down by the hunters.

Buffalo-hunting on the plains was so characteristically American and was so intimately bound up with all phases of the life of this great group of Indians that it is important to describe it in detail. In the first place, the plains west of the Mississippi were not suited for agriculture and hence would have remained nearly uninhabited if it had not been for the buffalo.

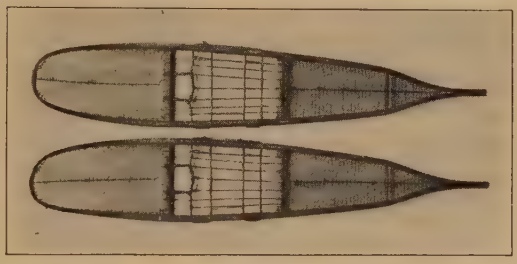
"It can hardly be doubted that the bison was the bridge that carried the ancestors of the western tribes from the crest of the Alleghenies to the Coteau des Prairies and enabled them to disperse so widely over the plains beyond. Certainly the toothsome flesh and useful skins must have attracted the valiant huntsmen among the Appalachians; certainly the feral herds must have become constantly larger and more numerous westward, thus tempting the pursuers down the waterways toward the great river; certainly the vast herds beyond the Mississippi gave stronger incentives and richer rewards than the hunters of big game found elsewhere; and certainly when the prairie tribes were discovered, the men and animals lived in constant interaction, and many of the hunters acted and thought only as they were moved by their easy prey." [1]

Before the arrival of the Spaniards and the introduction of the horse the Indians depended entirely on their skill and cleverness to get the buffalo. Sometimes they would start grass fires around the herd, leaving only a small opening for them to escape. As the fear-crazed animals rushed through the clear space away from the advancing smoke and flames, they were shot down by the hundreds by the Indians waiting there. Again, the men of an entire tribe would form a huge circle and drive the animals toward the center, where many of them would be killed before they could escape. The women who followed the hunt would skin and cut up the carcasses preparatory to taking them back to the camp. In the north huge pens were built of tree trunks lashed together, and into these inclosures the animals were driven. Sometimes a group of hunters disguised as buffaloes would lead a herd to a precipice, where, in their headlong plunge, many were killed.

Each year, toward the end of the summer, a great tribal hunt was held. At this time the meat was at its best, and the hair was thin so that the pelts were easy to dress. Before starting out they celebrated numerous religious rites in order to insure a successful hunt. During the summer no one was allowed to go out and hunt alone under penalty of flogging; if a man stole away and by his hunting scattered the herd so that the tribe suffered, he was punished — not infrequently by death. Thus the individual interest was made subservient to the welfare of the entire group.

[1] Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Vol. XV, p. 173.

It is not strange that the buffalo was so highly prized, for nearly every part of the animal was used in the daily life of the people. The rump and shoulders were used for roasts; and when they wanted to preserve the flesh for a time when fresh meat was scarce, it was cut into strips or sheets and hung in the sun or over the fire until it was dried. It was then folded and put up into packs. Another way of preserving was to pound the dried flesh into powder, mix with fat, wild berries, and other ingredients, and press into cakes or store in skin bags. This was called pemmican. The softer parts of the animal, such as the tongue, brain, liver, and marrow, were considered great delicacies. The hide was used in making clothes, tepees, bedding, and shields, and the sinews were made into thread for sewing the garments and into bowstrings. Out of the horns and bones were made spoons, drinking-cups, tools, and furniture. The long hair about the head was twisted into ropes; the dried chips were used for fuel.



SNOWSHOES

Courtesy of the Museum of the American Indian

If for any reason the buffalo did not appear, a tribe might suffer great hardship. Of course those who lived well to the east of the plains and who supplemented their meat diet with corn were not in a precarious condition, but those on the central or western plains faced starvation under conditions more unfavorable. Catlin says in this connection:

"Buffaloes, it is known, are a sort of roaming creatures, congregating occasionally in huge masses, and strolling away about the country from east to west, or from north to south, or just where their whims or strange fancies may lead them; and the Mandans are sometimes, by this means, most unceremoniously left without anything to eat; and being a small tribe, and unwilling to risk their lives by going far from home in the face of their more powerful enemies, are oftentimes left almost in a state of starvation. In any emergency of this kind, every man musters and brings out of his lodge his mask (the skin of a buffalo's head with the horns on), which he is obliged to keep in

readiness for this occasion; and then commences the buffalo dance . . ., which is held for the purpose of making 'buffalo come' (as they term it), of inducing the buffalo herds to change the direction of their wanderings, and bend their course towards the Mandan village, and graze about on the beautiful hills and bluffs in its vicinity, where the Mandans can shoot them down and cook them as they want them for food.[1]

"These dances have sometimes been continued in this village two and three weeks without stopping an instant, until the joyful moment when buffaloes made their appearance. So they never fail; and they think they have been the means of bringing them in.

"Every man in the Mandan village is obliged by a village regulation, to keep the mask of the buffalo, hanging on a post at the head of his bed, which he can use on his head whenever he is called upon by the chiefs, to dance for the coming of buffaloes. The mask is put over the head, and generally has a strip of the skin hanging to it, of the whole length of the animal, with the tail attached to it, which, passing down over the back of the dancer, is dragging on the ground. When one becomes fatigued of the exercise, he signifies it by bending quite forward, and sinking his body towards the ground; when another draws a bow upon him and hits him with a blunt arrow, and he falls like a buffalo — is seized by the bye-standers, who drag him out of the ring by the heels, brandishing their knives about him; and having gone through the motions of skinning and cutting him up, they let him off, and his place is at once supplied by another, who dances into the ring with his mask on; and by this taking of places, the scene is easily kept up night and day, until the desired effect has been produced, that of 'making buffalo come.'

"For the most part of the year, the young warriors and hunters, by riding out a mile or two from the village, can kill meat in abundance; and sometimes large herds of these animals may be seen grazing in full view of the village. There are other seasons also when the young men have ranged about the country as far as they are willing to risk their lives, on account of their enemies, without finding meat." [2]

The introduction of the horse changed the entire life of the Indians on the plains, and there are some who feel that their downfall began

[1] G. Catlin, North American Indians, Vol. I, p. 127. [2] Ibid. pp. 127–128.

when De Soto brought this animal west of the Mississippi. Previously the dog had been the Indian's only domestic animal, his companion in the hunt, and to some extent his assistant as a burden bearer, yet not to a very great degree, since the power of the dog to carry or to haul loads was not great. Before they had horses the Indians were footmen, making short journeys and transporting their possessions mostly on their backs. The hunting Indians possessed an insignificant amount of property, since the quantity that they could carry was small. Now all this was changed: an animal had been found that could carry burdens and drag loads. The Indians soon realized that the possession of such an animal would increase their freedom of movement and enable them to increase their property, since one horse could carry the load of several men. Besides this, it insured a supply of food and made the moving of camp easy and swift and long journeys possible. In addition to the use of the horse as a burden bearer and as a means of moving rapidly from place to place, it was used as a medium of exchange.

"The introduction of the horse led to new intertribal relations; systematic war parties were sent forth, the purpose of which was the capture of horses. This at once became a recognized industry, followed by the bravest and most energetic young men. Many of the tribes, before they secured horses, obtained guns, which gave them new boldness, and horse and gun soon transformed those who, a generation before, had been timid foot wanderers, to daring and ferocious raiders.

"On the plains and in the southwest horses were frequently used as food, but not ordinarily when other flesh could be obtained, although it is said that the Chiricahua Apache preferred mule meat to any other. It frequently happened that war parties on horse-stealing expeditions killed and ate horses. When this was done the leader of the party was always careful to warn his men to wash themselves thoroughly with sand or mud and water before they went near the enemy's camp. Horses greatly dread the smell of horse flesh or horse fat, and will not suffer the approach of any one smelling of it." [1]

After the Indians had obtained horses and guns, one of their favorite amusements was to ride at full speed into a herd of buffalo and

[1] Handbook of American Indians, *Bulletin No. 30*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Vol. I, pp. 569–570.

kill off hundreds at one time. Thus they killed many more than they could possibly use; the rest were left to rot on the plains. Little by little the huge herds of thousands of animals were decimated. The Indians were hungry: they needed skins for their clothes and for their tepees, but their store was gone, shot down for pleasure. They might die of starvation — many of them did; they might move to new lands and adopt agriculture, but the whites had taken possession of the land; they might give up their independence and become wards of the "great white father." This last alternative was the one most of them adopted, but by so doing the picturesque figures in war paint and feathers became a thing of the past, to be remembered only in history and story as the original settlers of America.

Fishing. When the whites arrived in America the waters were filled with all kinds of fish, most of which were used by the Indians. There were some tribes, however, such as the Apache, the Navaho, and the Zuñi for whom fish was taboo. Salmon and herring eggs formed one of the chief articles of diet along the northern Pacific coast.

"To collect herring eggs these tribes laid down under water at low tide a row of hemlock branches, which were held in position with weights; then branches were fastened together, and a float was fixed at one end, bearing the owner's mark. When these boughs were found to be covered with eggs they were taken into a canoe, carried ashore, and elevated on branches of a tree stripped of its smaller limbs, where they were left to dry. When first placed in position the eggs adhered firmly to the boughs, but on taking them down great care had to be exercised, because they were very brittle and were easily knocked off. Those not immediately consumed were put up in the intestines of animals and laid aside for winter use."[1]

"Large fish and marine mammals were captured by means of the harpoon, while the smaller ones were taken by the aid of bow and arrow, gigs, net, dull, trap, or weir. Fires or torches were used along the shore or on boats, the gleam of which attracted the game or fish to the surface, when they were easily taken by hand or with a net. Among the Cherokee, Iroquois, and other tribes, the fish were drugged with poisonous bark or other parts of plants; in parts of

[1] Handbook of American Indians, *Bulletin No. 30*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Vol. I, p. 462.

California extensive use was made of soap root and other plants for this purpose. Another ingenious device employed along the north Pacific coast for catching fish consisted of a straight pin, sharp at both ends and fastened to a line by the middle; this pin was run through a dead minnow, and, being gorged by another fish, a jerk of the string caused the points to pierce the mouth of the fish, which was then easily taken from the water. Artificial bait, made of stone and bone combined, was used as a lure and was quite attractive to fish as is the artificial bait of the civilized fisherman.

"In shallow rivers low walls were built from one side of the stream to the other, having a central opening through which fish were forced into a trap. Brushwood mats were also made, which were moved along like seines, so as to drive the fish into shallow or narrow places, where they were readily taken by the hand or with dip-nets. Along the shores of rapid streams men stationed themselves on rocks or staging and speared fish as they passed up or down stream. During winter, when the northern waters were frozen, holes were cut in the ice, and through these fish were shot, speared, or netted. Probably the most primitive of all methods of fishing, however, by which many salmon were and doubtless are still captured, was that of knocking them on the head with a club. After a great run of fish had subsided, single ones were caught in shallow water by any of the above methods. There are still indications that from an early period a trade existed between the fishing Indians and those of the interior who gained their livelihood by other means. Great supplies of fish were cured by drying in the sun or over fires, and sometimes the product was finely ground and packed in skins or baskets for future use."[1]

"Writing of a device used by the Quiarlpi tribe, at Kettle Falls on the [Columbia] river, H. H. Bancroft says: 'Here an immense willow basket, often ten feet in diameter and twelve feet deep, is suspended at the falls from strong timbers fixed in crevices of the rocks, and above this is a frame so attached that the salmon, in attempting to leap the falls, strike the sticks of the frame and are thrown back into the basket, in the largest of which naked men armed with clubs await

[1] Handbook of American Indians, *Bulletin No. 30*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Vol. I, pp. 461–463.

them. Five thousand pounds of salmon have thus been taken in a day by means of a single basket.'" [1]

Agriculture. It is astonishing to find in the minds of many people the idea that at the time of the discovery of America the Indians were nomads, wandering over vast territories in search of food and having no settled habitation. It was assumed also, of course, that there was little agriculture, for a wandering people obviously cannot engage in this type of work. As a matter of fact, most of the peoples east of the Mississippi cultivated fields, those in the north raising maize, beans, and squash, and those in the south raising millet, sweet potatoes, and melons. In both regions tobacco was raised. To the west of the Great Plains the people were carrying on agriculture through an elaborate system of irrigation.

Most of the early explorers, such as Cartier, Champlain, and De Soto, tell of the vast fields of maize which they found.

"Some idea of the extent of the cultivation of maize by some of the tribes may be gained from the following estimates: 'The amount of corn (probably in the ear) of the Iroquois destroyed by Denonville in 1687 was estimated at 1,000,000 bushels. According to Tonti, who accompanied the expedition, they were engaged seven days in cutting up the corn of four villages. General Sullivan, in his expedition into the Iroquois country, destroyed 160,000 bushels of corn and cut down the Indian orchards; in one orchard alone, 1500 apple trees were destroyed.'" [2]

The usual method of cultivating the corn was to girdle the trees with a stone hatchet so that they would die and let in the sunshine. Holes were dug after the ground had been loosened, a few kernels of corn which had previously been soaked in water for a few days were dropped in, usually a dead fish was put in, and then all was covered up. Almost no cultivation was necessary after the planting, for the corn outstripped the weeds. The reward was not thirtyfold, not fiftyfold, but a thousandfold. The ears could hang for a long time after they were ripe and could be picked by hand without meddling with the stalk. Unlike grain, corn did not have to be threshed or

[1] A. J. Fynn, The American Indian as a Product of Environment, p. 90. By permission of the author.

[2] Handbook of American Indians, *Bulletin No. 30*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Vol. I, p. 25.

winnowed: it required only roasting to become a nourishing food. The hunter or warrior carried some of the parched meal in his leather girdle, so that no matter how badly he fared in the chase nor how much he was cut off from his companions he always had plenty of nourishment with him. After the corn was dry, it was injured neither by heat nor by cold and could be stored for years in pits or leaves.[1]

Irrigation. Irrigation was confined entirely to the arid regions of the West. Apparently it was practiced extensively before the arrival of the Spanish, for there have been found elaborate systems of ditches and reservoirs that had passed into disuse long before the whites set foot on the shores of America.

In the land occupied by the Pueblos the rivers and streams were few and far between and, except in flood season, the amount of water was very limited. But the natives showed their cleverness by constructing dams out of brush, stone, and mud, and were thus able to carry the water out over the level land lying in the vicinity of the streams. Shallow canals were scooped out, and from these main arteries lateral ditches carried the water to numerous trenches and grooves.

"Considering the lack of facilities, some of the irrigating systems were constructed on an extensive scale. In order to obtain sufficient elevation for bringing water out over the land, canals sometimes tapped the river several miles above the tracts to be irrigated. The labor of preparing the low aqueducts must have been exceedingly irksome. There were no picks, plows, spades, shovels, or scoops, according to our ideas of these implements. With rude stone, bone, or wooden implements the earth must have been pecked, pounded, softened, or broken at first; then scooped up with the bare hands, or perhaps with pieces of pottery; then placed in baskets, skins, or vessels of earthenware, in which it was finally lugged out of the trench and piled along its edges. Where the water had to be conducted over beds of loose, coarse sand, it was necessary to spread a thick layer of adobe clay over the bottom and sides of the ditch to prevent seepage. When the plastering was finished, the clay apparently was hardened by artificial means. 'The extreme hardness of the canal lining,' says Hodge, 'may be accounted for by the supposition that instead of burning the dense underbrush for the sole purpose of destroying it,

[1] John Fiske, The Discovery of America, Vol. I, p. 28; George Bancroft, History of the United States (Centenary Edition), Vol. II, p. 423.

the natives gathered it into their moist canal beds, where it was burned to harden the newly plastered lining.' . . .

"Since many of the streams of the Southwest are intermittent, and nearly all are likely to become dry in midsummer, reservoirs were built at favorable points, especially across washes running out from the mountains. Some of these were several rods in diameter and ten or twelve feet in depth, and were of great value in supplementing the inadequate ditch supply." [1]

"The most important of these works are in the valley of the Gila and its tributaries, in South Arizona, where scores of miles of ditches are still traceable, in instances extending more than ten miles from the stream from which the water was diverted; according to some observers there are individual canals that traverse a total distance of twenty-five miles. In the Salt River Valley alone it is estimated that from 200,000 to 250,000 acres were made available for cultivation by means of irrigation before the arrival of white men." [2]

Weapons. The bow and arrow was the most useful and universal weapon and implement of the chase possessed by the Indians north of Mexico. The bow was usually made of the toughest and most elastic wood that could be found, although at times horn was substituted by the tribes of the plains and plateaus. In the Far North, where growing wood was scarce, driftwood backed by sinew was used. The arrow shaft was made of wood, but the head was of stone, bone, wood, or copper. As a rule the head was pointed so that it could pierce the flesh; but sometimes a blunt point was used, in which case the victim was merely stunned. Arrowheads, if they were as long as two inches, were very slender; for solid flesh, being almost as resistant as soft rubber, could best be penetrated by a sharp projectile unless it were propelled by greater power than can be obtained from a bow without artificial aid, which is not at the command of the savage.[3]

The usual shape of the arrowhead was triangular or pointed oval. Those that were notched were set in a slot in the shaft and were

[1] A. J. Fynn, The American Indian as a Product of Environment, pp. 97–110. By permission of the author.

[2] Handbook of American Indians, *Bulletin No. 30*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Vol. I, p. 621.

[3] Adapted from the Handbook of American Indians, *Bulletin No. 30*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Vol. I, p. 90.

held by sinew, rawhide, or cord which passed through the notches; those that did not have notches were held by the cord passing over and under the angle at the base. War arrows often had the head loosely fastened, so that it would stay in the wound after the shaft was withdrawn.

The word "tomahawk" is applied to a weapon that was the nearest approach to a European hatchet. It had a long wooden handle, to which was fastened a stone or wooden head round at one end and pointed at the other. Sometimes the handle pierced the head and ended in a sharp point, so that the weapon could be used like a spear for thrusting. When the whites arrived, the Indians substituted the steel hatchet, but they still kept the old stone tomahawks for ceremonial purposes.

The shield was a regular part of the war equipment of the Indians of the plains and of the southwest, but it was not adapted for use in the forests of the east. The Indians of the plains made their shields of thick buffalo hide with covers of soft-dressed elk or deerskin. The picture, or design, on the outside cover was different from that on the shield itself. This inner picture was supposed to have great influence in protecting the life of the owner in battle, and so the outer cover was not thrown back until just before the battle. The shield, which was about seventeen inches in diameter, was carried on the left arm by means of a belt passing over the shoulder, thus leaving the left hand free to grab the bow. In a retreat it was slung over the back. These shields were not of much value in stopping a bullet, but they could halt an arrow or turn the stroke of a lance.

"The shield of the Plains warrior constituted his most sacred possession from the time when it was made for him, or given to him soon after his first encounter with the enemy, until it was laid under his head in the grave, unless before that time bestowed on some worthy young warrior or left as a precious sacrifice at the grave of wife or child. Every shield originated from a dream in which the dreamer was told by the spirit how many shields he might make, how they must be painted and decorated, how the owner must paint and otherwise decorate himself and his pony, and what taboos and other sacred obligations he must observe through life in order to obtain the protection of the shield spirit, which might be a bird, a quadruped, a being of the tribal pantheon, or one of the personified powers of

nature. The owner rarely made his own shield, but received it from the dreamer, usually an old warrior or recognized medicine-man, who made it on request as he had been instructed, for a definite compensation in horses, blankets, or other property. The hide used for the purpose was taken from the neck of the buffalo bull, and was made exceptionally thick and tough by shrinking it while wet, over a fire built in a hole in the ground. The cutting, painting, and decorating with feathers and other pendants were all matters of much ceremony, in which the maker was assisted by the candidate and by other shield owners, usually those carrying shields of the same pattern. During the progress of the work the young man was instructed in all the obligations connected with the shield, and at its completion the shield was formally consecrated in a sweat-house built for the purpose, and the whole ceremony concluded with a feast. The obligations included certain taboos, prayers, songs and war cries, with a specific method of caring for the shield when in camp, and of uncovering it before going into the fight. When not in use it was hung upon a tripod, usually facing the sun, or tied upon an upright pole." [1]

Industries. *Pottery.* Certain of the American Indian tribes had reached great proficiency in the art of weaving and pottery-making by the time the whites first made their appearance in this country. It was to be expected that those groups whose habitations were permanent should carry their arts much farther than a hunting or a wandering tribe. Pottery, at best, is too frail to stand constant moving, and weaving, especially rugs, requires looms too elaborate to be transported very often.

"Cushing traces the growth of pottery among the Pueblos in somewhat the following manner: When these people first came into the land, the semi-desert nature of the country made the question of carrying and preserving water of vital importance. The indications, traced through language, are that they first made use of tubes of wood or cane, which were employed during their nomadic stage. These were superseded by gourds, which were at hand and had many points of superiority. The gourds, however, were fragile, and, for the purpose of strengthening and preserving them, they were encased in wicker-work. These, in turn, would suggest water-tight baskets,

[1] Handbook of American Indians, *Bulletin No. 30*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Vol. II, pp. 546–547.

which, on account of strength and convenience, would displace all former utensils. Clay came to be pressed upon the wattling from the inside and formed a heavy coating. For roasting seeds and kindred substances, live coals were placed within the vessel along with the material to be parched, and a whirling motion kept up for the purpose of heating the kernels evenly. Not only is the food thus roasted, but the clay lining by constant use is incidentally heated until it becomes hard and stable. The wooden network after a time

DECORATED POTTERY, NEW MEXICO

Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York

becomes torn off or burned away, but the hard clay lining still preserves its shape. Here, then, is primitive pottery as a result of evolution. It is not far from this point of development to the shaping and roasting of clay vessels without the assistance of the wooden framework.

"Let us follow the evolution of forms. The old shape is still obtained by drawing out a long rope of clay, varying in thickness to suit the character of the vessel to be made, and, beginning at one end of the rope, coiling it upon itself at the bottom of the basket and following up the sides until the top is reached, pressing the coils gently upon one another as the winding continues. The completed article is left in the basket until it dries and shrinks, when it is carefully removed and fired. It is found by experiment that by careful manipulation

vessels can be made from these ropes of clay without using wickerwork for support. . . .

"The next step is to mold a piece of plastic earth into a desired form without coiling. Freed from dependence upon basket models, there arises immediately a great variety of shapes, chiefly imitations taken from local natural objects, shells, gourds, animals, or parts of animals, especially heads and feet; plants or parts of plants, especially twigs, leaves and flowers — all these furnish suggestions for either the complete vessel or for parts of it, such as spouts and handles; for all manner of ornaments painted upon it; for various designs pressed into it; or for raised or sunken figures molded upon it." [1]

APACHE INDIAN BASKETS
Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York

Decoration on pottery is almost as old as the pottery itself. When the basketwork on the earliest clay vessels was burned off, the imprint of the weave was left; and we find that after this method of manufacture was abolished, the pattern was retained for decoration. When the pottery coils were not smoothed down they gave a series of symmetrical curves. These, too, played a part in later decoration, for we find the Indians breaking the regular lines by pinching the clay, thus giving a mottled appearance to the outside of the vessel. In some cases, after the surface was made smooth, simple patterns were chased in the soft clay.

[1] A. J. Fynn, The American Indian as a Product of Environment, pp. 158–160; permission of the author. F. H. Cushing, Fourth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, p. 482.

Most of the decoration on the later pottery was done in colors: yellow, black, brown, red, and white. The designs, if not depicting animals and plants, were of regular geometric forms, such as circles, triangles, zigzags (probably lightning), and series of straight lines. The scroll came from the imitation of shells. "On sacred vessels are decorations and symbols to represent sky, clouds and rain, being especially significant on account of the aridity of the Pueblo country." [1]

A BLANKET ON A LOOM, ARIZONA

Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York

Weaving. Many of the Indian tribes knew something of the art of weaving, but it was left for the dwellers in the southwest to bring it to a high state of perfection. At first the threads were made of cotton, mulberry bark, and other fibers, the hair of quadrupeds, and the down of birds. When the Europeans arrived they brought sheep with them, and the natives were quick to learn the advantages of wool over any of the material which they had used before. At first they had no shears to clip the wool, and so they cut and tore it away with their dull, crude implements. It was carefully washed and combed after it was removed from the backs of the animals. The

[1] A. J. Fynn, The American Indian as a Product of Environment, p. 161. Permission of the author.

thread was spun on a slender rod about a foot long, with a circular block four to six inches in diameter for a flywheel. The loom, which was made of many logs, was set up outside the hut, and over it a sun shelter of boughs was built. Here the women wove the blankets, the belts, and other garments. Even with their primitive methods they were able to turn out fabrics of fine texture and great beauty of design. As a rule the patterns were not dissimilar to those used for decorating pottery. The colors were black, white, red, blue, and the natural gray of the wool.

Clothing. The clothing of the Indians varied with the environment. "In the far north, pelts of seal and reindeer, feathers and skins of birds, and the intestines of the whale were the most common coverings. Among the Algonkins and Iroquois, leggings of dressed skins, upper garments of many varieties of the lighter furs, and strong moccasins made of tough teguments of the larger beasts, constituted the typical dress. On the prairies and plains, dried and tanned hides artistically ornamented with furs, bones, and quills were mostly worn. Among the mountains farther west, strong suits of buckskin and hats of coarse basketry were in use. On the western coast were skins of smaller animals, well tanned and richly ornamented with grasses."[1]

"The typical and more familiar costume of the Indian man was of tanned buckskin and consisted of a shirt, a breech-cloth, leggings tied to a belt or waist-strap, and low moccasins. The shirt, which hung free over the hips, was provided with sleeves and was designed to be drawn over the head. The woman's costume differed from that of the man in the length of the shirt, which had short sleeves hanging loosely over the upper arm, and in the absence of the breech-cloth. Women also wore the belt to confine the garment at the waist. Robes of skin, woven fabrics, or of feathers also were worn, but blankets were substituted for these later. . . . The free edges were generally fringed, and quill embroidery and bead-work, painting, scalp-locks, tails of animals, feathers, claws, hoofs, shells, etc., were applied as ornaments or charms. The typical dress of the Pueblo Indians is generally similar to that of the Plains tribes."[2]

[1] A. J. Fynn, The American Indian as a Product of Environment, pp. 103–104. Permission of the author.

[2] Handbook of American Indians, *Bulletin No. 30*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Vol. I, pp. 310–311.

Dwellings. The dwellings of the Indians may be divided into several distinct groups. The Algonquins in the northeast used the wigwam; the Iroquois had the long house; the plains tribes, the tepee; the Piute, the wikiup; the Pueblos, adobe houses; and the ancient Pueblos, cliff dwellings.

The wigwam, unlike the tepee, was not a portable structure. It was made by fastening elastic poles together at the top and then sticking them in the ground, making a circle that was from ten to sixteen feet

TEPEES OF THE CREE INDIANS

The one on the left shows the framework of poles; those on the right are covered and elaborately decorated. (Courtesy of the Museum of the American Indian)

in diameter. This frame was covered with birch bark. A wigwam of this size would accommodate two or three married couples with their children.

The long house was made by planting poles in the ground, fastening others to them, and then covering with strips of bark. The roof, which was triangular in shape, was covered in the same way. These houses were anywhere from fifty to a hundred and thirty feet in length, and eighteen feet wide. The interior was divided into compartments about twelve feet wide, and in each one of these tiny rooms there lived two families, one on each side of a central fire. Thus in one of the larger houses there might live twenty-two families around the eleven fires.

The tepee was made by tying together at one end twenty or thirty long poles. These were then set up in a circle about ten or fifteen feet in diameter, and covered with animal skins sewed together. The upper third was left loose, with the pointed ends extending up and out by means of outside poles stuck into pockets in the extreme upper corners. These flaps were shifted according to the wind so as to allow the smoke to escape from the fire built in the center of the floor of the tepee.[1]

A MODEL OF A SKIN TEPEE OF THE PLAINS
Courtesy of the Museum of the American Indian

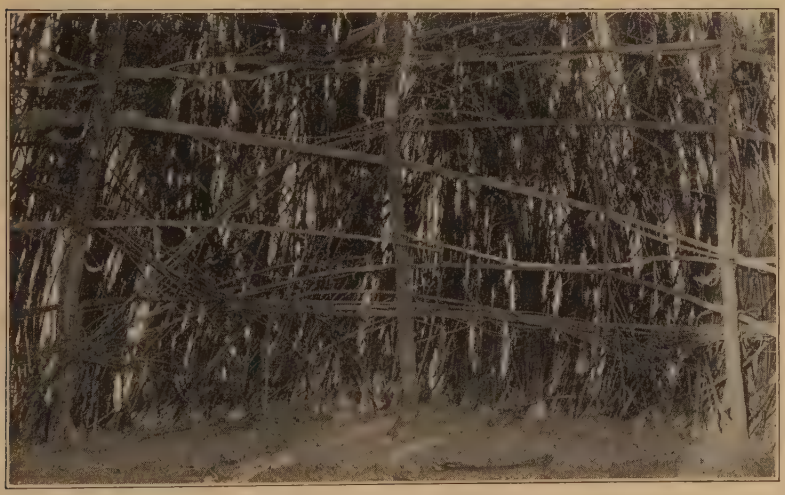
The wikiup of the Piute Indians was as low a type of dwelling as can be found anywhere in the country. It was made by putting several branches in a semicircle and covering them with other boughs and leaves. The closed side was to the north; in front of the open side to the south the fire was built. It seems rather strange that these people should have clung to this extremely crude hut when the people to the north and south, with whom they must have come in contact, had such well-built and more or less permanent houses.

Possibly the most substantial houses of the North American Indians were those of the Pueblos living in what is now southern Colorado, central Utah, New Mexico, Arizona, and the adjacent Mexican territory. The materials used in building these houses varied with the section of the country. In the northern part of the Pueblo land sandstone, which was readily obtainable, was used. In other sections

[1] Adapted from F. S. Dellenbaugh's "North American Indians of Yesterday," p. 200. Courtesy of G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London.

PUNA HOUSES, ARIZONA
Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York

blocks of lava were used, and to the south adobe clay, a sticky cement-like substance, was the chief building material. The houses resembled boxes, one piled upon the other, with the largest on the bottom and



INTERIOR OF A HOUSE, ARIZONA
Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York

the smallest on top; that is, the upper houses were set back of those just below, so that the roof of the lower house formed the front porch for the house above.

There were numerous small rooms in these buildings, for it was difficult to get timber to roof over a large space. In the olden days there were no doors to the ground dwellings, but admission was gained by a ladder to the roof, and then a hole admitted people down into the room. The upper houses were reached either by ladders or by stone steps in the walls.

Sometimes the houses were built around a central court into which there was only one narrow entrance between two houses, the

A SEMINOLE HOUSE

Courtesy of the Museum of the American Indian

outer walls presenting a solid windowless, doorless front. Inside the court the upper houses were constructed as has been described above.

It is obvious that such construction must have arisen as a protection against a sudden attack. It would be a brave man who would dare to force an entrance into the court through the narrow opening, and it is certain that any large force would have to go in single file. Under these conditions these consolidated villages could easily have been defended by a little group of men.

The ancient Pueblo Indians must have been driven out into the arid regions by more powerful tribes long before the arrival of the whites in America. Certainly no group would have chosen these

barren wastes as the ideal place for their homes. High up in the cañon walls they made their houses out of the caves they found there — sometimes cutting steps in the face of the perpendicular cliffs, and in other cases building crude ladders that could be pulled up after they were safely indoors. This made it very easy to defend their homes.

A MODEL OF THE INWOOD ROCK SHELTER, NEW YORK CITY

This was made by W. C. Orchard. (Courtesy of the Museum of the American Indian)

If the caves were not deep enough, they chipped them out; if they needed more room than the weathering of the rock had provided, they attacked the volcanic sandstone with their stone tools. Sometimes whole series of rooms were connected so that a large family could occupy one apartment. Many rooms were circular; others were oblong. They were about seven feet high and ten by seventeen in size, or eight to ten feet in diameter, according to shape. As there

were no chimneys, the fires were built near the entrance. Attempts were made by the occupants of these rooms to preserve cleanliness. For example, after the walls had been thoroughly begrimed with smoke from the fire they were coated with a layer of adobe earth. In some of the rooms as many as half a dozen strata may be found on the walls, the intense black soot alternating with the brown clay.[1]

THE PUEBLO OF WALPI

Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York

As a rule they built a retaining wall in front of the cave. They either used the stone which they got from the caves, or they carried up from the valley stones that were of convenient size. These were cemented together by adobe clay.

There were no windows in this wall, and only a narrow door, at times so low that a person was obliged to crawl through. One popular shape was that of a cross, so that a person could enter with a load on his head or shoulders. "Seen at a distance, the entrances appear not unlike the hole left by sparrows as opening to their nests under the eaves of a barn. . . .

[1] A. J. Fynn, The American Indian as a Product of Environment, p. 74; by permission of the author. F. S. Dellenbaugh, North American Indians of Yesterday, p. 228. Courtesy of G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London.

CLIFF DWELLINGS, COLORADO

Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York

A CLIFF PALACE, IN MESA VERDE NATIONAL PARK, CONTAINING THREE HUNDRED ROOMS

It is the largest house of this kind yet discovered. The round rooms were used either as watch towers or for ceremonial purposes. (Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York)

"Into many of the walls and floors, nooks were dug, as receptacles for their few simple household utensils. Some were made large enough to contain several bushels of grain. Often they were made for a less cheerful purpose. They became repositories for the dead.

"Beneath the doorways, along the sides of the cliffs, generally run narrow, irregular, and oftentimes dangerous paths, connecting one

SEMINOLES IN A CANOE

Courtesy of the Museum of the American Indian

cave-house with another. In many places the track simply consists of a series of notches into which the feet and hands are placed in walking and crawling. Where the rock is soft, and the paths have been in use for a long time, footprints have been worn to the depth of eight or ten inches.

"Into the rock, directly above the doorways on the outside, deep, narrow, horizontal holes were often made. They were used evidently for supporting poles, over the projecting ends of which skins could be thrown for awnings; for the sun beats down fiercely upon the cliffs of those cañons and mesas. Somewhat similar holes, cut into the perpendicular surface, are found elsewhere than over the doorways; and these were used for a variety of purposes connected

with household affairs, such as supporting pegs for pieces of meat, garments, utensils, and the like." [1]

Navigation. In all probability the American Indian did not navigate the ocean for any great distances, but he did use the vast network of rivers, streams, and lakes with which a good deal of North America is covered. His chief boat was the light canoe made either from birch bark or from skins. With this he could travel great distances over the quiet inland waters, carrying it, where necessary, over portages. If he was on the warpath he made each canoe large enough to carry many men, but otherwise two or three people were a comfortable number for the average canoe.

The dugout canoe was another form used in certain parts of the country. This was made from a single log hollowed out by fire and gouging. At best it was heavy and could not easily be carried across the long portages. The finest dugout canoes were made on the northwest coast from large cedar trees.

[1] A. J. Fynn, The American Indian as a Product of Environment, p. 75. By permission of the author.

CHAPTER XVII

NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS (CONTINUED)

Marriage. Many of the white poets writing of the American Indians picture in flowery language the romantic attachment of the sexes. They show the brave young warrior seeing some fair brown maiden and falling in love with her. The beauty of the courtship is set forth in glowing terms, and finally a marriage takes place at which there is general rejoicing on the part of friends of the happy couple. This picture may be all right for songs, novels, and romances, but as an actual picture of conditions as they existed among the majority of the Indians it is far from the truth.

In the first place, among such a large group as the Iroquois there was no romantic attachment between the sexes before marriage for the reason that the contracting parties did not know that they were going to be married. All the arrangements were made by the mothers of the man and the woman; and when the negotiations were finished, the two parties who by the nature of the case should be most interested were told.

In the olden times the young warrior of twenty-five would be married to a woman of forty, possibly a widow. The theory was that he needed a companion who was versed in the affairs of life. On the other hand, a maiden of twenty would be married to a widower of sixty. Among many primitive peoples, as has been seen in previous chapters, the boys are married in their early teens; but among the Iroquois it was deferred until he was twenty-five, in order that he might first become inured to the hardships of the warpath and of the chase.

Before the Iroquois League was brought to a close, the ages of the man and the woman became more nearly equal. When a mother considered that her son had reached the right age to marry, she looked around for a woman who, from report or acquaintance, was suitable in disposition and temperament. A negotiation between the mothers took place and an agreement was reached. Sometimes relatives or

elderly persons in the two tribes were consulted, but the mothers were in no way bound to take their advice. When all was settled, the really interested parties were informed, but it never occurred to either to remonstrate or object. As obedience was inculcated from earliest childhood they acquiesced in this as in everything else. The father never troubled himself about the marriage of his children, for he considered it the prerogative of the mother, and to interfere would have brought public disapproval upon him.

"When the fact of the marriage has been communicated to the parties, a single ceremonial completed the transaction. On the day following the announcement, the maiden was conducted by her mother, accompanied by a few female friends, to the home of her intended husband. She carried in her hand a few cakes of unleavened corn bread, which she presented on entering the house, to her mother-in-law, as an earnest of her usefulness and of her skill in the domestic arts. After receiving it, the mother of the young warrior returned a present of venison, or other fruit of the chase, to the mother of the bride, as an earnest of his ability to provide for his household. This exchange of presents ratified and concluded the contract which bound the new pair together in the marriage relation." [1]

In Los Angeles County the marriage was arranged by a preliminary interchange of presents between the male relatives of the bridegroom and the female relatives of the bride.

"The former proceeded in a body to the dwelling of the girl, and distributed small sums in shell money among her female kinsfolk who were collected there for the occasion. These afterward returned the compliment by visiting the man and giving baskets of meal to his people. A time was then fixed for the final ceremony. On the appointed day the girl, decked in all her finery, and accompanied by her kinsfolk, proceeded toward the house of her lover; edible seeds and berries were scattered before her on the way, which were scrambled for by the spectators. The party was met halfway by a deputation from the bridegroom, one of whom now took the young woman in his arms and carried her to the house of her husband, who waited expectantly. She was then placed by his side, and the guests, after scattering more seeds, left the couple alone. A great feast followed, of which the most important feature was a character dance. The

[1] L. H. Morgan, The League of the Iroquois, Vol. I, p. 313.

young men took part in this dance in the rôles of hunters and warriors, and were assisted by the old women, who feigned to carry off game, or dispatch wounded enemies, as the case might be. The spectators sat in a circle and chanted an accompaniment.

"According to another form of marriage, the man either asked the girl's parents for permission to marry their daughter, or commissioned one of his friends to do so. If the parents approved, their future son-in-law took up his abode with them, on condition that he

A FAMILY OF NAVAHOS AND THEIR HOUSE
Courtesy of the Museum of the American Indian

should provide a certain quantity of food every day. This was done to afford him an opportunity to judge of the domestic qualities of his future wife. If satisfied, he appointed a day for the marriage, and the ceremony was conducted in the same manner as that last described, except that he received the girl in a temporary shelter erected in front of his hut, and that she was disrobed before being placed by his side." [1]

"The Nootka may have as many wives as he can buy, but as prices are high, polygamy is practically restricted to the chiefs, who are careful not to form alliances with families beneath them in rank. Especially particular as to rank are the chiefs in choosing their first wife, always preferring the daughters of noble families of another

[1] H. H. Bancroft, The Native Races of the Pacific States, Vol. I, pp. 195–196.

tribe. Courtship consists in an offer of presents by the lover to the girl's father, accompanied generally by lengthy speeches of friends on both sides, extolling the value of the man and his gift and the attractions of the bride. After the bargain is concluded, a period of feasting follows if the parties are rich, but this is not necessary as a part of the marriage ceremony. Betrothals are often made by parents while the parties are yet children, mutual deposits of blankets and other property being made as securities for the fulfillment of the contract which is rarely broken. Girls marry at an average age of sixteen. The common Nootka obtains his one bride from his own rank also by a present of blankets, much more humble than that of his rich neighbor, and is assisted in his overtures by perhaps a single friend instead of being followed by the whole tribe." [1]

Among other tribes "children were often betrothed in infancy, kept continually in each other's society until they grew up, and the contract was scarcely ever broken. Many obtained their wives by abduction, and this was the cause of many of the intertribal quarrels in which they were so constantly engaged.

"If a man ill-treated his wife, her relations took her away, after paying back the value of her wedding presents, and then married her to another. Little difficulty was experienced in obtaining a divorce on any ground; indeed, in many of the tribes the parties separated whenever they grew tired of each other. Adultery was severely punished. If a husband caught his wife in the act, he was justified in killing her, or, he could give her up to her seducer, and appropriate the spouse of the latter to himself." [2]

One custom that seemed to prevail over much of the country was prohibition of marriage within certain degrees of relationship. For instance, the Indians of the northwest coast and those east of the Mississippi forbade marriage within the clan. The tendency of this was to bring in new blood constantly, with the result that the evils of inbreeding were largely done away with.

The whole system of relationship was a most complicated one and cannot be dealt with in detail in a book of this character. A single illustration will show some of the difficulties in store for a member of another race if he tries to master its intricacies.

[1] H. H. Bancroft, The Native Races of the Pacific States, Vol. I, pp. 195–196.
[2] Ibid. pp. 411–412.

"Among the Omaha a man must not marry in his own gens. A law of membership requires that a child belong to his father's gens. This is descent in the male line, but children of white or black persons (negroes) belong to the gens of the mother, into which they are forbidden to marry. Moreover, a stranger cannot belong to any gens of the tribe because there is no ceremony of adoption into a gens. A man is prohibited from marrying a woman of the gens of his father, as the women of this gens are his grandmothers, aunts, sisters, nieces, daughters, or grand-daughters. For the same reason he cannot marry a woman of the gens of his father's mother, but he can marry a woman belonging to any other gens of his paternal grandmother's phratry, as she would not be of his kindred.

"Consanguineous or blood kinship embraces not only the gens of the father, but also that of the mother and grandmothers, and these kindred with reference to a man fall into fourteen groups, and with reference to a woman into fifteen groups." [1]

Children. The number of children per family was, as a rule, small. In some cases this was due to the hard economic conditions of the environment, which made large families an impossibility. It was also due to the fact that in the majority of cases the children were not weaned for several years, and hence the number of children per woman was limited.

It happened in a good many instances that when more children arrived than were wanted the extra ones were put to death. Among the Nootkas the women seldom had more than two or three children, and ceased bearing at about twenty-five, frequently preventing the increase of their family by abortions.

The bearing of children fell very lightly on some of the Indian women, especially those along the Pacific coast. When the time for delivery arrived, the mother went off alone to the side of some quiet stream. There, on a crude couch she had built for herself, she bore her child. The infant was then thrown into the water: if it rose to the surface and cried, it was taken out and cared for; if, on the other hand, it sank, there it was left without even an Indian burial. If the child lived, it was wrapped in strips of soft skin and tied to a board and was carried on the mother's back.

[1] Handbook of American Indians, *Bulletin No. 30*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Vol. I, p. 693.

It happened not infrequently that on the march a woman would stop, bear her child, and then walk rapidly and overtake the rest of the tribe, which had traveled on at its usual pace.

Usually after childbirth the woman had to go through a three-day purification ceremony, as she was considered unclean, during which time she could eat no meat and drink nothing but warm water.

"In the center of the hut a pit was filled with heated stones upon which herbs were placed, and the whole covered with earth, except a small aperture through which water was introduced. The mother and child, wrapped in blankets, stood over the pit and were soon in a violent perspiration. When they became exhausted from the effect of the steam and the heated air, they lay upon the ground and were covered with earth, after which they again took to the heated stones and steam. The mother was allowed to eat no meat for two moons, after which pills made of meat and wild tobacco were given to her. In some tribes she could hold no intercourse with her husband until the child was weaned." [1]

ARAPAHOE CRADLES

Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York

Puberty. "The significance of a girl's entrance into womanhood was not only appreciated by all American tribes, but its importance was much exaggerated. It was believed that whatever she did or experienced then was bound to affect her entire subsequent life, and that she had exceptional power over all persons or things that came near her at that period. For this reason she was usually carefully set apart from other people in a small lodge in the woods, in a separate

[1] H. H. Bancroft, The Native Races of the Pacific States, Vol. I, pp. 391–413.

room, or behind some screen. There she remained for a period varying from a few days — preferably four — to a year or even longer — the longer isolation being endured by girls of wealthy or aristocratic families — and prepared her own food or had it brought to her by her mother or some old woman, the only person with whom she had anything to do. Her dishes, spoons, and other articles were kept separate from all others and had to be washed thoroughly before they could be used again, or, as with the Iroquois, an entirely new set was provided for her. For a long period she ate sparingly and took but little water, while she bathed often. Salt especially was tabooed by the girl at this period. A Cheyenne girl purified herself by allowing smoke from sweet grass, cedar needles, and white sage to pass over her body inside of her blanket. She was also forced to sit up for long periods to prevent her from becoming lazy, and among the Haida she had to sleep on a flat rock with a bag of gravel or something similar for a pillow. If she ate too much, it was thought that she would be greedy in later life; if she talked too much, that she would become garrulous, and if she laughed, that she would become too much inclined to hilarity. A Shuswap girl would climb trees and break off their tips in order to become strong, and play with gambling sticks that her future husband might be a successful gamester. A Hupa girl must not tell a lie during this time or she would forever become untruthful. Among the Tshimshian, if a girl desired a certain number of sons when married, the same number of men chewed her food for her; if she desired daughters, that office was performed by women. At the end of her fast she was covered with mats and held over a fire in order that her children might be healthy." [1]

The boys of the tribe also went through certain rites and ceremonies before they were admitted into the tribe as full-fledged members. However, these were not necessarily connected with puberty, as in the case of the girls. They were given sweat baths and then plunged into cold water, they had to abstain from animal food for a period of time, they were obliged to swallow bitter and sometimes nauseating herbs, and their bodies were rubbed over with fish spines.

On the Pacific coast "a youth, to become a warrior, must first undergo a severe ordeal; his naked body was beaten with stinging

[1] Handbook of American Indians, *Bulletin No. 30*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Vol. II, pp. 314–315.

nettles until he was literally unable to move; then he was placed upon the nest of a species of virulent ant, while his friends irritated the insects by stirring them up with sticks. The infuriated ants swarmed over every part of the sufferer's body, into his eyes, his ears, his mouth, his nose, causing indescribable pain." [1]

All these things were done in order to teach the youths indifference to hardships, so that on the field of battle and in the long hard hunt

A PUEBLO WOMAN WITH A WATER JAR ON HER HEAD
Courtesy of the Museum of the American Indian

they would not feel suffering from injuries, from heat or cold, or from hunger. They were told that this complete indifference constituted the only true manhood, and they were shown that of such stuff the great Indian warriors were made.

Status of women; division of labor. "One of the most erroneous beliefs relating to the status and condition of the American Indian woman is that she was, both before and after marriage, the abject slave and drudge of the men of her tribe in general. This view, due largely to inaccurate observation and misconception, was correct, perhaps, at times, as to a small percentage of the tribes and peoples

[1] H. H. Bancroft, The Native Races of the Pacific States, Vol. I, pp. 413–414.

whose social organization was of the most elementary kind, politically and ceremonially, and especially of such tribes as were non-agricultural." [1]

A distinction must be made between the women who were members of the tribe by right of birth or adoption and those who had been captured on the warpath. If they belonged to the former class they were treated with respect, for their economic importance was high and they were the potential mothers of the future tribesmen;

A MODEL SHOWING HOPI FAMILY LIFE

Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York

if, on the other hand, they were the spoils of war they received little or no consideration, and they were looked upon as no better than drudges or beasts of burden.

In every tribe there was a very definite division of labor between the sexes. The man was expected to protect his family from all dangers, to support them with the products of the chase, to manufacture the wooden household utensils, the tools, and weapons, and to make the canoes. He was also expected to provide suitable timber and bark for the building of the houses (Iroquois) or for the lodges. He would, of course, assist in the building operations if the work was too heavy for the women.

[1] Handbook of American Indians, *Bulletin No. 30*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Vol. II, p. 968.

Oftentimes the man would be absent from his fireside, either on war expeditions or on hunting and fishing trips, for days, weeks, and even months at a time. He often traveled hundreds of miles and endured all sorts of hardships and perils, owing to the inclement weather and the lack of shelter and food.

The labor at home naturally fell to the woman. Her first duty, of course, was the care of the children, and since she had so much else to occupy her time in the course of the twenty-four hours she had little leisure. When her husband or brothers brought in the animals of the chase, she took entire charge of preparing the skins, drying the meat, and storing for the future that which was not needed for immediate consumption. The fish which were brought in she prepared in the same way. She was expected to weave the mats, blankets, and other necessary articles, to form the pots of clay and the household utensils of bark, and to gather and store edible roots, seeds, berries, and plants for future use. It was her duty to clear the land for planting and to raise and harvest the different kinds of grain and vegetables. These were but a few of her tasks. To mention them all would be but a long list of household duties, from the fetching of the water and firewood in the morning to the putting of the last log on the fire at night.[1]

Self-gratification. *Dancing and music.* When the Indians were not on the warpath or engaged in the pursuit of food, much of their time was taken up with dancing, playing games, and feasting. Dancing played a double rôle, for it was one of the main parts of their religious ceremonials (as we shall see when we come to a study of their religion), and when they wanted to enjoy themselves to the fullest extent they danced. In speaking of the Iroquois, Morgan says:

"These dances sprang, as it were, a living reflection from the Indian mind. With their wild music of songs and rattles, their diversities of step and attitude, their grace of motion, and their spirit-stirring associations, they contain within themselves both a picture and a realization of Indian life. The first stir of feeling of which the Indian youth was conscious was enkindled by the dance; the first impulse of patriotism, the earliest dreams of ambition were awakened

[1] Adapted from "Handbook of American Indians," *Bulletin No. 30*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Vol. II, pp. 960 ff.

by their inspiring influences. In their patriotic, religious and social dances, into which classes they were properly divisible, resided the soul of Indian life." [1]

"It is their church and theater — one may almost add, their hospital and military academy. It is a prayer and drama at the same time. To the civilized it may appear rational or foolish, interesting or dull, beautiful or vulgar; but to people in the lower stages of culture it is full of meaning. It may be a representation of the various

ZUÑI INDIANS IN A COMANCHE DANCE

This dance is purely for pleasure and has no religious significance. It is very probable that the Zuñis copied or adopted it during a visit to the Rio Grande Pueblos, who in turn secured it from Oklahoma. The Zuñis were told that it was a dance of the Comanche Indians and hence it goes by that name. (Courtesy of the Museum of the American Indian)

plays, movements, and tricks of wild animals, the progress and vicissitudes of love, the exciting scenes of the chase, or the tragedies of war." [2]

"Among the Indians north of Mexico, the dance usually consists of rhythmic and not always graceful gestures, attitudes and movements of the body and limbs, accompanied by steps usually made to accord with the time of some form of music, produced either by the dancer or dancers or by one or more attendant singers. Drums,

[1] L. H. Morgan, The League of the Iroquois, Vol. I, p. 250.

[2] A. J. Fynn, The American Indian as a Product of Environment, p. 203. Permission of the author.

rattles, and sometimes bone or reed flutes are used to aid the singers. Every kind and class of dance has its own peculiar steps, attitudes, rhythm, figures, song or songs with words and accompanying music, and costumes.

"In general among the American Indians the heel and the ball of the foot are lifted and then brought down with great force and swiftness in such wise as to produce a resounding concussion. Usually the changes of position of the dancer are slow, but the changes of attitude are sometimes rapid and violent. The women employ several steps, sometimes employed also by the men, among which are the shuffle, the glide, and the hop or leap. Holding both feet together and usually facing the song altar, the women generally take a leap or hop sidewise in advance and then a shorter one in recoil so that after every two hops the position is slightly advanced. They do not employ the violent steps and forceful attitudes in vogue among the men. They keep the body quite erect, alternately advancing either shoulder slightly, which gives them a peculiar swaying or rocking motion, resembling the waving of a wind-rocked stalk of corn." [1]

A DOG DANCER, NORTH DAKOTA

From an old print. (Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York)

In the war dance the men were armed and painted as they would be for the warpath. The wild songs and music tended so to inflame the dancers that their leaps and jumps were anything but graceful.

[1] Handbook of American Indians, *Bulletin No. 30*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Vol. I, p. 381.

"At the same instant of time in a group of dancers one might be seen in an attitude of attack, another of defence, one in the act of drawing the bow, another striking with the war club; some in the act of throwing the tomahawk, some of listening, or of watching an opportunity, and others of striking the foe." [1]

One interesting feature of the Iroquois dance was that any one of the spectators at any time during the performance could make a speech, but for this privilege he was obliged to give either money or tobacco to the dancers. When a man had an inspiration, he rapped on the floor and everything stopped. The remarks were always short and to the point and might be an exhortation, a patriotic appeal, or a bit of humor. Some were received with applause; others, with jeers.

The music of each type of dance had its own peculiar rhythm, so that an Indian could determine at once the class of a strange song by the rhythm of the music; that is, he could tell whether it was used in one of the dances of hunting, war, facing death, or courtship.

"Some songs have no words, but the absence of the latter does not impair the definite meaning; vocables are used, and when once set to a melody they are never changed. Occasionally both words and vocables are employed in the same song. Plural singing is generally in unison on the plains and elsewhere, the women using a high, reedy falsetto tone an octave above the male singers. Among the Cherokee and other Southern tribes, however, 'round' singing was common. Men and women having clear resonant voices and good musical intonation compose the choirs which lead the singing in ceremonies, and are paid for their services. Frequently two or three hundred persons join in a choral, and the carrying of the melody in octaves by soprano, tenor, and bass voices, produces harmonic effects.

"Songs are the property of clans, societies, and individuals. Clans and societies have special officers to insure the exact transmission and rendition of their songs, which members alone have the right to sing, and a penalty is exacted from the member who makes a mistake in singing. The privilege to sing individual songs must sometimes be purchased from the owner. Women composed and sang the lullaby and the spinning and grinding songs. Among the Pueblos men joined in singing the latter and beat time on the floor as the women worked at

[1] L. H. Morgan, The League of the Iroquois, Vol. I, p. 261.

the metates. Other songs composed by women were those sung to encourage the warrior as he went forth from the camp, and those sung to send to him, by the will of the singers, strength and power to endure the hardships of the battle.

"On the north Pacific coast, and among other tribes as well, musical contests were held, when singers from one tribe or band would contend with those from another tribe or band as to which could remember the greatest number or accurately repeat a new song after hearing it given for the first time. Among all the tribes accurate singing was considered a desirable accomplishment." [1]

Games. There were two classes of games that had the strongest appeal to the Iroquois: the athletic games and the games of chance. These were indulged in at their religious festivals, and frequently special days were set apart for great athletic contests. Tribes, villages, or even nations would send challenges to each other to participate in a contest. Each group was represented by a team of skilled players who had practiced together for a long time and who underwent a special course of diet and training before a contest. On the day of the contest great crowds of people came together, and during the game the people lined up on their respective sides and cheered lustily for their teams.

"Unlike the prizes of the Olympic games, no chaplets awaited the victors. There was strife between nation and nation, village and village, or tribe and tribe; in a word, parties against parties, and not champion against champion. The prize contended for was that of victory; and it belonged not to the triumphant players, but to the party which sent them forth to the contest." [2]

Betting at these games was a common amusement. Frequently an Indian gambled away everything of value that he possessed, such as his tomahawk, his ornaments, and even his blanket. The excitement was intense. Every move in the game was watched with breathless interest. The high spirits and excitable nature of the Indians made them peculiarly adapted for the enjoyment of these games.

When one side had won, the spectators acted very much as do those at modern football games. Caps, tomahawks, and blankets were thrown up into the air, and shouts of joy greeted the victors.

[1] Handbook of American Indians, *Bulletin No. 30*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Vol. I, pp. 958–959. [2] L. H. Morgan, The League of the Iroquois, Vol. I, p. 281.

It was fortunate that opponents were on opposite sides of the field, for the patience of the losing side might have been roused to the breaking point if they had been nearer, and the tomahawks might have been put to their natural use.

One of the favorite contests was a game of ball played much as is our lacrosse. The racket was made of a curved stick with a net fastened in the curve, and the ball was made of deerskin. A level field was chosen, and at each end were two goal posts. The general rules were so similar to our lacrosse, hockey, or polo that it is unnecessary to describe the game in detail. There were usually from six to eight players on a side. Before the contest started, it was decided how many goals would constitute a victory. If in the course of the game a player became fatigued or injured, he left the field and was replaced by a substitute. Umpires followed the players to see that the rules — for example, that "no player may touch the ball with his hand or foot" — were observed.

The game of javelins was much simpler. One side was lined up, each man having a javelin six feet long. A ring was rolled on the ground some distance from them. As it passed, each man threw his javelin at it.

"If the ring was struck by one of them, the players of the adverse party were required, each in turn, to stand in the place of the person who struck it, and throw their javelins in succession at the ring, which was set up as a target on the spot where it was hit. Those of the javelins which hit the target when thus thrown were saved. If they missed, they were passed to the other party, and by them were thrown at the ring from the same point."

The other side then lined up, and the process was repeated. In the end the side which had all the javelins of the others won.

Another game with javelins consisted of throwing them for distance. The javelin that went the farthest won a point. If another on the same side was ahead of all those on the opposite side, another point was counted, and so on for all in advance of the first one on the opposing side.

An indoor game of great popularity was played with eight round buttons made from elk horn blackened on one side. Before the game started, each player was given a capital of fifty beans. A certain num-

[1] L. H. Morgan, The League of the Iroquois, Vol. I, p. 289.

ber were placed by each person in the center as a pool. Play started by one of the players shaking the buttons and throwing them down. If six turned up of the same color, it counted two; if seven, four; and if all, twenty; the winner taking as many beans from the pool as he made points by the throw. If less than six of one color turned up, it did not count, and the buttons were given to the next player. The game continued until all the beans were in possession of one player. During the game there was betting on the part of the spectators.

In winter the Indians amused themselves by throwing along the frozen surface of the snow a spearlike implement with the point slightly turned up. The count was very similar to that of the summer sport with javelins. Another game was played on a hillside. Small wooden boats about fifteen inches long were sent down iced grooves in the snow. Great crowds would gather for these winter sports and, as usual, bet almost anything on the outcome.

Foot races were very popular and were often part of the entertainment of the civil and mourning councils. In this contest the Indians excelled. Each group was obliged to have trained runners, not only to carry news during war but also to convey messages in times of peace. Frequently a man could go a hundred miles a day, and so the shorter races at the time of a feast were mere child's play. Jumping, wrestling, or other gymnastic sports found no place in the public amusements of the Indians.

Target practice with arrows, knives, or hatchets thrown from the hand, as well as with the bow or rifle, was a common form of amusement among nearly all the tribes. After the introduction of the horse to the peoples of the plains, races between members of a tribe or between tribes were common.

Children's games did not differ very much from those of our own race. There were shooting, stilts, slings, tops for the boys and dolls and playhouses for the girls. They engaged in various games of forfeits, cat's cradle and other string games, as well as battledore and shuttlecock. The children of both sexes found their greatest delights in imitating the occupations of their elders.[1]

[1] Handbook of American Indians, *Bulletin No. 30*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Vol. I, p. 50.

CHAPTER XVIII

NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS (CONTINUED)

Religion. The religion of the Indians did not differ materially from that of many of the other uncivilized groups. They had a belief in spirits; in fact, everything, whether animate or inanimate, had a soul. The souls of men and of the lower animals were thought to exist after the death of the body, and hence there arose the idea that these took an interest in worldly affairs and either helped or hindered man, according as they were friendly or unfriendly. To none of these spirits did the Indian ascribe moral good or evil. His religion was very practical. The spirits were regarded as the source of good or bad fortune whether on the hunting path or the war trail, in the pursuit of a wife, or in a ball game. If he was successful he adored, offered sacrifices, and made valuable presents; if he was unsuccessful he turned from them and offered his prayers to more powerful or more friendly deities.

"To the mind of the Indian anything which was strange was 'mystery,' and to 'mystery' was referred in all the languages everything incomprehensible. This is the meaning of the word 'manitou' of Algonquin origin, now so widely used for corresponding conceptions throughout the tribes of the continent. Primarily an adjective, it has come to be employed as a noun, and spirits are called 'manitous' as personifications of this quality. As a matter of course, some of these spirits are more powerful than others, and there are, therefore, grades of manitous, and sometimes one in particular who will be venerated or feared more than any other. There is not, however, any conception of an all-powerful deity or 'great spirit.'

"It was the misapprehension of the character of the manitou by the early missionaries and observers, and their tendency to read their own ideas into the Indian religions, that gave rise to the error. The particular manitou which would hold the first place in any given group was naturally determined by the general mode of life. Among the Plains Indians the spirit of the buffalo was the one to be considered

above all others; while among other tribes the sun, rain, spirits of various crops, etc., were the powers to be propitiated." [1]

Soul. The conception of the soul varied with the different parts of the country. Thus, in British Columbia the natives believed in several souls; the loss of one caused sickness or partial death, and the loss of all or of the principal one caused death. In other cases the soul was associated with the vital organs and with the blood and breath. The soul, being an entity apart from the person, was able to leave the body and to visit distant places and see into the past and the future. Although this entity was similar to the self, yet it was not discernible to the senses, and it sometimes took the form of a tiny man.

Everywhere among the Indians the lack of tangibility of the soul led to the belief that it was visible to the shamans and priests only; or, at least, that it was like a shadow or an unsubstantial image, or that only its trail and footprints could be seen, or that it glided through the air without touching the earth.

Shamans and priests. Mediators between the world of spirits and the world of men were divided into two classes: the shamans, whose authority was entirely dependent on their individual ability, and the priests, who acted in some measure for the tribe or nation, or at least for some society.

Among some tribes the shamans performed practically all religious functions, including, as usual, that of physician, and occasionally a shaman united the civil with the religious power by being a town or house chief also. Sometimes he obtained his position from an uncle, inheriting his spiritual helpers just as he might his material wealth, but there were also shamans who became such owing to natural fitness. In either case the first intimation of his new power was given by the man's falling senseless and remaining in that condition for a certain period. In other parts of North America the sweat bath was an important assistant in bringing about the proper psychic state, and certain individuals became shamans after escaping from a stroke of lightning or from the jaws of a wild beast.

"As distinguished from the calling of a shaman, that of a priest was national or tribal rather than individual, and if there were con-

[1] L. Farrand, Basis of American History, pp. 249–250. Reprinted by permission of the publishers, Harper & Brothers.

siderable ritual his function might be more that of leader in the ceremonies and keeper of the sacred myths than direct mediator between spirits and men. Sometimes, as on the Northwest coast and among the Eskimo, the functions of priest and shaman might be combined, and the two terms have been used so interchangeably by writers, especially when applied to the Eastern tribes, that it is often difficult to tell which is the proper one." [1]

Medicine and medicine men.[2] "In general the tribes show many similarities in regard to medicine, but the actual agents employed differ with the tribes and localities, as well as with individual healers. Magic, prayers, songs, exhortation, suggestion, ceremonies, fetishes, and certain specifics and mechanical processes are employed only by the medicine-men or medicine-women; other specific remedies or procedures are proprietary, generally among a few old women in the tribe, while many vegetal remedies and simple manipulations are of common knowledge in a given locality.

"The employment of magic consists in opposing a supposed malign influence, such as that of a sorcerer, spirits of the dead, mythic animals, etc., by the supernatural power of the healer's fetishes and other means. Prayers are addressed to benevolent deities and spirits, invoking their aid. Healing songs, consisting of prayers or exhortations, are sung. Harangues are directed to evil spirits supposed to cause the sickness, and often are accentuated by noises to frighten such spirits away. Suggestion is exercised in many ways directly and indirectly. Curative ceremonies usually combine all or most of the agencies mentioned. Mechanical means of curing consist of rubbing, pressure with the hands or feet, or with a sash or cord (as in labor or in painful affections of the chest), bonesetting, cutting, cauterizing, scarifying, cupping (by sucking), blood-letting, poulticing, sweat bath, sucking of snake poison or abscesses, counter irritation, tooth-pulling, bandaging, etc. Dieting and total abstinence from food were forms of treatment in vogue in various localities. Vegetal medicines were, and in some tribes still are numerous. Some of these are employed by reason of a real or fancied resemblance to the part affected, or as fetishes, because of a supposed

[1] Handbook of American Indians, *Bulletin No. 30*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Vol. II, p. 523.

[2] See section on Disease, p. 260.

mythical antagonism to the cause of the sickness. Thus, a plant with a worm-like stem may be given as a vermifuge; one that has many hair-like processes is used among the Hopi to cure baldness. Finally, all the tribes are familiar with and employ cathartics and emetics. Every tribe has also knowledge of some of the poisonous plants in its neighborhood, and their antidotes.

"The causation and the nature of disease being to the Indian in large part mysteries, he assigned them to supernatural agencies. In general, every illness that could not plainly be connected with a visible influence was regarded as the effect of an introduction into the body, by malevolent or offended supernatural beings or through sorcery practiced by an enemy, of noxious objects capable of producing and continuing pain or other symptoms, or of absorbing the patient's vitality. These beliefs and the more rational ones concerning many minor indispositions and injuries, led to the development of separate forms of treatment, and varieties of healers.

"In every Indian tribe there were, and in some tribes still are, a number of men, and perhaps also a number of women, who were regarded as the possessors of supernatural powers that enable them to recognize, antagonize, or cure diseases; and there were others who were better acquainted with actual remedies than the average. These two classes were the 'physicians.'

"The mystery man was believed to have obtained from the deities, usually through dreams, but sometimes before birth, powers of recognizing and removing the mysterious causes of disease. He was 'given' appropriate songs or prayers, and became possessed of one or more powerful fetishes. He announced or exhibited these attributes, and after convincing his tribesmen that he possessed the proper requirements, was accepted as a healer. In some tribes he was called to treat all diseases, in others his functions were specialized, and his treatment was regarded as efficacious in only a certain line of affections. He was feared as well as respected. In numerous instances the medicine-man combined the functions of a shaman or priest with those of a healer, and thus exercised a great influence among his people. All priests were believed to possess some healing powers. Among most of the populous tribes the medicine-men of this class were associated in guilds or societies, and on special occasions performed great healing or 'life (vitality) giving' ceremonies, which

abounded in songs, prayers, ritual, and drama, and extended over a period of a few hours to nine days." [1]

When a person was taken sick, some of the simple remedies, such as hot or cold baths, herbs, or roots, were tried. If these proved ineffective, the patient was handed over to the magic powers of the medicine man. He would first inquire into the symptoms, the dreams, or broken taboos of the patient and would then give his opinion as to the nature of the ailment. Having decided the cause of the trouble he would put the patient on his back in the middle of a big lodge and would call in the friends of the sick man and place them in a circle around the room. The medicine man, frequently grotesquely painted, would enter the ring chanting a song and proceed to force the evil spirit from the sick man by pressing both clenched fists with all his might in the pit of his stomach, kneading and pounding also other parts of the body, blowing occasionally through his own fingers, and sucking blood from the part supposed to be affected. Frequently, by means of sleight of hand, he produced from the body of the patient the cause of the disease in the form of a thorn, pebble, hair, or other object, which he threw away or destroyed.

If the medicine man failed to effect a cure and the patient died, he usually attributed it to the influence of a rival doctor. If he lost several patients in succession, he himself was accused of being a sorcerer, and in that case would be put to death.[2]

"Women doctors seem to be more numerous than men in California, acquiring their art in the sweat house, where unprofessional women are not admitted. Their favorite method of cure seems to consist in sucking the affected part of the patient until the blood flows, by which means they pretend to extract the disease. Sometimes the doctress vomits a thorn previously swallowed for the occasion, to prove that she has not sucked in vain. She is frequently assisted by a second physician, whose duty it is to discover the exact spot where the malady lies, and this she effects by barking like a dog at the patient until the spirit discovers to her the place." [3]

[1] Handbook of American Indians, *Bulletin No. 30*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Vol. I, pp. 837–838.

[2] H. H. Bancroft, The Native Races of the Pacific States, Vol. I, pp. 286–287; Handbook of American Indians, *Bulletin No. 30*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Vol. I, pp. 836–838.

[3] H. H. Bancroft, The Native Races of the Pacific States, Vol. I, p. 355.

Death, burial, and mourning. There were various means of disposing of the dead, but none of them were distinctly American. In some parts the body was wrapped in a hammock and placed in a hollow tree trunk. The aperture was closed with laths, all cracks being smeared with mud, and the whole thing was placed on posts near the hut. Frequently a large vessel was placed beneath the corpse to catch the fluids which dripped from it in the process of decay. Later this had to be drunk by certain people after tobacco and cinchona leaves had been steeped in it.

Among some tribes the coffin was opened a year after death, and, amid lamentations, the bones were broken and laced into bundles which could be carried on the march. Others allowed the bodies to decay for some months or a year, either in the ground or on a scaffold, and then buried the bones either in a coffin or in finely woven mats.

Perhaps the most common mode of burial was in the ground. The Mohawks made a large hole in the ground, in which the body was placed in a squatting posture; then it was covered with timber and earth.

"When the Chinook dies, relatives are careful to speak in whispers, and indulge in no loud manifestations of grief so long as the body remains in the house. The body is prepared for final disposition by wrapping it in blankets, together with ornaments and other property of a valuable but not bulky nature. For a burial place an elevated but retired spot near the river bank or on an island is almost always selected. In the region about the mouth of the Columbia, the body with its wrapping is placed in the best canoe of the deceased, which is washed for the purpose, covered with additional blankets, mats, and property, again covered, when the deceased is of the richer class, by another inverted canoe, the whole bound together with matting and cords, and deposited usually on a plank platform five or six feet high, but sometimes suspended from the branches of trees, or even left on the surface of the ground. The more bulky articles of property, such as utensils and weapons, are deposited about or hung from the platform, being previously spoiled for use that they may not tempt desecrators among the whites or foreign tribes; or, it may be that the sacrifice or death of the implements is necessary before the spirits of the implements can accompany the spirit of the owner. For the same purpose, and to allow the water to pass off, holes

are bored in the bottom of the canoe, the head of the corpse being raised a little higher than the feet." [1]

Among the Indians of the plains the horse was usually killed at the grave of its owner, just as his arms were buried with him, that he might be equipped for the journey that he was about to take.

"In the days of cremation, and even later, dead bodies were never taken through the door, but through a hole made in the side of the house and then closed up so that the spirit of the deceased could not find its way back into the house, or the body was taken through the aperture in the roof and a dog taken along with it. If the dog were not taken they believed that some of the family would surely die, but if the spirit of the deceased entered the dog it would not return to the injury of any member of the household." [2]

"In some tribes it is customary when anyone dies for a priest or other respected person to stand outside the dwelling in which the deceased lies, and, with hand uplifted, proclaim in a loud voice to the Spirits of the kindred that their kinsman has started on his way to join them; meanwhile swift runners speed through the tribe, spreading the news of the dead among the living.

"More or less ceremony usually attends the preparation of the body for burial. Among the Hopi wailing takes place during the washing of the body. In some tribes the characteristic tribal moccasin must be put on the feet of the dead by a member of a certain clan, in order that the kindred may be safely reached. In others the face must be ceremonially painted for the journey and the best clothing put on, so that the dead may go forth properly attired and honored. Personal belongings are placed with the corpse. On the Northwest coast, after the body has been arrayed it is propped up at the rear of the house and surrounded by the property, and the relatives and mourners pass by the remains in token of respect. Among the Dakota the widow passed around the circle of the tribe, each circuit standing for a promise to remain single during the year. The general sign of widowhood is loosening the hair and cutting it short in a line with the ears. It was the wife's duty to light a fire for four nights on her husband's grave and watch that it did not die

[1] H. H. Bancroft, The Native Races of the Pacific States, Vol. I, p. 247.

[2] L. E. Jones, A Study of the Thlingets, p. 151. By permission of the publishers, Fleming H. Revell Company.

out before dawn. She had to wail at sunrise and sunset, eat a little, and remain more or less secluded. The length of her seclusion varied in different tribes from a few weeks or months to two years. At the expiration of the period relatives of her former husband brought her gifts and bade her return to her former pleasure. She was then free to marry again. In some tribes, wives, slaves, or horses and dogs were formerly slain at the death of a man, for it was the general belief that relations of all kinds which were maintained on earth would continue in the dwelling place of spirits. . . .

A DAKOTA BURIAL GROUND

Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York

"Mourning customs vary in different tribes, but there are certain modes of expressing sorrow that are common to all parts of the country, and indeed to all parts of the world, as wailing, discarding personal ornaments, wearing disordered garments, putting clay on the head and sometimes on the joints of the arms and legs, and the sacrifice of property. Other practices are widespread, as shedding one's blood by gashing the arms or legs, cutting off joints of the fingers, unbraiding the hair, cutting off locks, and throwing them on the dead or into the grave, and blackening the face or body. These signs of mourning are generally made immediately at the death, and are renewed at the burial and again when the mourning feast takes place." [1]

[1] Handbook of American Indians, *Bulletin No. 30*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Vol. I, p. 951.

"The Modocs hired mourners to lament at different places for a certain number of days, so that the whole country was filled with lamentation. These paid mourners were closely watched, and disputes frequently arose as to whether they had fulfilled their contract or not." [1]

"The customs of mourning seem to have a twofold aspect — one relating to the spirit of the deceased, the other to the surviving relatives and friends. This dual character is clearly revealed in a custom that obtained among the Omaha and cognate tribes: On the death of a man or woman who was respected in the community, the young men, friends of the deceased, met at a short distance from the lodge of the dead, and made two incisions in their left arms so as to leave a loop of skin. Through this loop was passed a small willow twig, with leaves left on one end; then, with their blood dripping upon the willow leaves, holding a willow stem in each hand, they walked in single file to the lodge, and, standing abreast in a long line, they sang there the tribal song to the dead, beating the willow stems together to the rhythm of the song. At the sound of the music, a near relative came forth from the lodge and, beginning at one end of the line, pulled out the blood-stained twigs from the left arm of each singer, and laid a hand on his head in token of thanks for the sympathy shown. The song continued until the last twig was thrown to the ground. The music of the song was in strange contrast to the bloody spectacle. It was a blithe major melody with no words, but only breathing vocables to float the voice. According to the Indian explanation the song was addressed to the spirit, bidding it go gladly on its way; the blood shed was the tribute of sorrow — grief for the loss of a friend and sympathy for the mourners. The same idea underlies the Omaha custom of ceasing the loud wail at the close of the burial ceremonies lest the sound make it harder for the spirit who must go to leave behind its earthly kindred." [2]

The other world. The belief of the Indians in regard to the life in the next world was not unlike that of many other savage peoples. The life there was a continuation of the life on this earth, and for that reason the possessions of a dead warrior were sent with him on his

[1] H. H. Bancroft, The Native Races of the Pacific States, Vol. I, p. 357.

[2] Handbook of American Indians, *Bulletin No. 30*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Vol. I, pp. 951–953.

long journey. "The happy hunting ground" was the future world of many of the plains tribes. This region was beyond a far-distant river in the west and could be reached only by a canoe. In that land, free from want, there were plenty of animals to be hunted every day.

In some localities the belief was common that the conditions in the land of the dead were the reverse of those on the earth; that is, when it is night here it is day there, and when snow covers the ground here the next world is enjoying summer.

The Vancouver Indians thought that the villages of the dead were near their own villages but invisible. This was not a very widespread belief, however.

The Iroquois thought that the dead went to "the happy home beyond the setting sun." It does not appear that they considered it the "happy hunting ground" of so many of the other Indian groups. They also had a place of punishment for the wicked, but there seems to be some doubt as to whether this idea was given to them by the early Jesuits or whether it was really an ancient belief. This place of punishment resembled in many respects the Catholic purgatory where the wicked are sent for a time until they have expiated their sins. Evil deeds in this life were neutralized by good ones. If at the end the balance sheet showed more bad deeds than good, the dead went for a time into the region of punishment; but if the reverse was true, they went directly to the Great Spirit.

Witchcraft and murder were punished by eternal suffering, but lesser crimes called for only temporary suffering.

When the souls arrived in the next world they possessed a body, with its senses, appetites, and affections of the earthly life. With them they carried knowledge and the remembrance of former friends. Sex was abolished, but families were united and lived in peace and harmony. They pictured this paradise as having all the things they most wanted.

"A vast plain of illimitable extension — it was spread out with every variety of natural scenery which could please the eye, or gratify the fancy. Forests clothed with ever-living foliage, flowers of every hue in eternal bloom, fruits of every variety in perpetual ripeness, in a word, the meridian charms of nature met the eye in every direction. To form a paradise of unrivaled beauty, the Great Spirit had gathered every object in the natural world which could delight the senses, and

having spread them out in vast but harmonious array, and restored their baptismal vestments, he diffused over these congregated beauties of nature the bloom of immortality. In this happy abode, they were destined to enjoy unending felicity. No evil could enter this peaceful home of innocence and purity. No violence could disturb, no passions ruffle the tranquillity of this fortunate realm. In amusement or repose they spend their lives. The festivities in which they had delighted while on the earth were re-celebrated in the presence of the great Author of their being. They enjoyed all the happiness of the earthly life, unencumbered by its ills." [1]

This paragraph is quoted from Morgan not to show the primitive belief of the Iroquois, for primitive it certainly is not, but rather to show how the belief of a high culture will be superimposed upon that of a lower — the resultant is a mixture of both.

Fetish. Among the American Indians an object, large or small, natural or artificial, was regarded as possessing consciousness, volition, and immortal life, and especially magic power, which enabled it to accomplish abnormal results in a mysterious manner. Apparently in any specific case the distinctive function and sphere of action of the fetish depended largely on the nature of the object which was supposed to contain it. It was the imagined possession of this potent mysterious power that caused an object to be regarded as indispensable to the welfare of its possessor.

"A fetish is required by a person, a family, or a people for the purpose of promoting welfare. In return, the fetish requires from its owner worship in the form of prayer, sacrifice, feasts, and protection, and from its votaries it receives ill or good treatment in accordance with the character of its behavior toward them. Some fetishes are regarded as more efficacious than others. The fetish which loses its repute as a promoter of welfare gradually becomes useless and may degenerate into a sacred object — a charm, an amulet, or a talisman — and finally into a mere ornament. Then other fetishes are acquired, to be subjected to the same severe test of efficiency in promoting the well-being of their possessors.

"Mooney says, in describing the fetish, that it may be 'a bone, a feather, a carved or painted stick, a stone arrow-head, a curious fossil or concretion, a tuft of hair, a necklace of red berries, the stuffed

[1] L. H. Morgan, The League of the Iroquois, Vol. I, pp. 170–171.

skin of a lizard, the dried hand of an enemy, a small bag of pounded charcoal mixed with human blood — anything, in fact, which the owner's medicine dream or imagination might suggest, no matter how uncouth or unaccountable, provided it be easily portable and attachable. The fetish might be the inspiration of a dream or the gift of a medicine man, or even a trophy taken from a slain enemy, or a bird, animal, or reptile; but, however insignificant in itself, it had always, in the owner's mind, at least, some symbolic connection with occult power. It might be fastened to the scalp-lock as a pendant, attached to some part of the dress, hung from the bridle bit, concealed between the covers of a shield, or guarded in a special repository in the dwelling. Mothers sometimes tied the fetish to the child's cradle.'" [1]

Totem. One of the most important systems in the social and religious life of the Indian was that of totemism. These totems were of three kinds: clan totems, sex totems, and individual totems.

To find the origin of the idea of the totem, it is necessary to examine one of the fundamental ideas of primitive religions. It is supposed that there is a very close relationship existing between man and the various animate and inanimate objects with which he comes in contact. These things, besides having their natural qualities, are reputed to possess certain anthropomorphic characters. This has led to many important cults and doctrines, among them being the idea that these things in nature have a great influence on man and that under the right circumstances they can act as his protectors or as protectors of certain groups in society. However, the totem is not to be confused with the fetish, which is also a powerful ally to the possessor.

The exact method of acquiring the clan totem is in doubt, but the workings of the system are well known. This clan guardian spirit concerns the group as a whole and is acquired by every member at birth and may not be changed at will.

"'The members of each clan believe that they are relatives and, in some vague way, the descendants of certain pre-existing animals whose names and identity they now bear. The animal ancestors are accordingly totemic. In regard to the living animals, they, too, are the earthly types and descendants of the pre-existing ones, hence,

[1] Handbook of American Indians, *Bulletin No. 30*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Vol. I, pp. 456–458.

since they trace their descent from the same sources as the human clans, the two are consanguinely related,' so that the members of a clan feel obliged not to do violence to the wild animal having the form and name of their tutelaries. The flesh or fur of such animals may be obtained from the members of other clans, who are under no obligations not to kill these animals. Our authority adds that the different individuals of the clans inherited the protection of their clan totems when they passed the initiation rites, thenceforth retaining these as protectors through life. As the members of clans are considered to be the descendants of their totemic animals, they are in a sense the cousins, so to speak, of the earthly animals which are also descendants of the supernatural animals.

"The animals of the earth in general are considered as thinking beings, with interests in life, customs, and feelings not unlike those of men. Even today these mutual elements in the lives of men and animals are felt to exist. The animals are all believed to have their protecting supernatural kinsmen, as well as men; for that reason in hunting them their protecting spirits have to be overcome before one can hope to bring them down. It is the same with human beings. If one's guardian spirit is all right, no harm can come. So in warfare, the idea is to strengthen one's own guardian spirit and to weaken the enemy's. In this respect hunting and fishing are much like warfare. The magic songs and formulas engage in the supernatural struggle and open the way, while the actual weapons do the work when the spiritual barriers are removed." [1]

The social part played by the totem is perhaps as important as the religious, for upon it depends the entire marriage system of most of the Indians. It is, of course, impossible to give all the variations as they occur, but one example will suffice to show the main ideas. Among the Tlingits the two most important clans are those of the Wolf and the Raven; to these may be added the Bear, Whale, Salmon, and Frog clans. No person is allowed to marry within his own totem group, for by so doing he would be marrying a blood relation or an adopted relation. A Raven man may only marry a Wolf girl; the children follow the mother and succeed the uncle on the maternal side. Thus family property always remains in the same

[1] Handbook of American Indians, *Bulletin No. 30*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Vol. II, pp. 792–793.

clan. For this reason a nephew must marry his uncle's widow, even if he has a wife of his own. Here and there mother right has been broken through, most frequently by inheriting what has been acquired from the husband. The Ojibwas have expressed inheritance on the male side. A newly born child can be given to its paternal aunt to bring up if the father's stock seems to need strengthening.[1]

It must not be supposed that the totem is confined to the animals. Various things such as plants, the heavenly bodies, the elements, and even strange mythical beings are designated in various parts of the country.

The method of obtaining the personal totem is well known; hence only one typical example will be given.

"Among the Omaha and their congeners, according to Miss Fletcher, a youth at his initiation obtains his personal tutelary — his so-called totem — directly through the assumed efficacy of a definite rite performed by the young person himself; he does not inherit it from an ancestor, and he does not receive it as a gift from any living person. This ceremony of initiation into manhood rests on the assumption that man's powers and activities can be supplemented by the elements and the animals only through the grace of Wakonda, obtained by the rite of vision consisting of ritualistic acts and a fervent prayer of humility, expressing a longing for something not possessed, a consciousness of insufficiency of self, and an abiding desire for something capable of bringing welfare and prosperity to the suppliant. On reaching the age of puberty, the youth, under the instructions of his parents or other patrons, begins his initiation by having moistened earth placed on his head and face, by having a small bow and arrows given him, with directions to seek a secluded spot among the hills. Having reached such a place, he must chant the prescribed prayer, uplifting his hands, wet with his tears, to the heavens, and then he must place his hands on the earth and he must fast until he falls asleep or into a trance. Whatsoever he sees or hears while in this state is the being that will become the special medium through which he can receive superhuman aid and comfort. Then, returning home, he rests and partakes of food. For four days he must speak but little, and he must not in that time reveal his vision under penalty of losing its producer. Later he may confide it to some old man,

[1] F. Ratzel, The History of Mankind, Vol. II, p. 131.

known to have had a similar vision or dream. Then it is his duty to seek until he finds the animal or bird seen in his revelation, when he must slay it, selecting and retaining a small part of it (in cases where no concrete form was seen, symbols of it are made to represent it). This token or memento is ever after the sign of his vision or dream, the most sacred thing he can ever possess. This symbol may consist of the feather of a bird, a tuft of hair or other part of an animal or a bird, a black stone, or a translucent pebble. This token or memento, his personal tutelary, is never the object of worship. It is the tie, the fragment connecting its possessor with the potentiality and power of the entire species represented by the being or form seen in his vision or dream. Belonging to various objects and beings, all tutelaries are not equally potent in the view of the natives, for they cannot exceed the power of the particular species to which they severally belong. Nevertheless, when the novice is being instructed for the rite of the vision, he is forbidden to ask in his prayer for the sight of any particular object. It is an opinion held among the natives that although no one may consciously choose his personal tutelary, natural gifts of mind and character are apt to attract powerful animals and agencies. Usually, the tutelary referred to members of the surrounding fauna — the deer, the buffalo, the bear, the turtle, the birds, and the reptiles; and to representatives of the flora — the corn; and to the elements — the thunder, the earth, the water and the winds. Nothing in any manner connoted man himself. There is, moreover, no indication of ancestor worship, and no suggestion of a natural blood kinship existing between the man and his tutelary. These statements embody very briefly the chief characteristics of the personal tutelary among the Omaha and the tribes linguistically related to them.

"The influence of these guardian spirits on the social, religious and political institutions of the natives differs greatly from tribe to tribe. Among the Omaha, those who have received visions of the same being or object usually unite into a cult or religious society. The Bear Society is composed of persons from every gentile kinship group who have seen a bear in the rite of the vision. The bond of union here was not blood kinship but a communal right in a common apparition. These societies possess prescribed rites, rituals, and suitable officers." [1]

[1] Handbook of American Indians, *Bulletin No. 30*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Vol. II, p. 790.

CHAPTER XIX

NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS (Concluded)

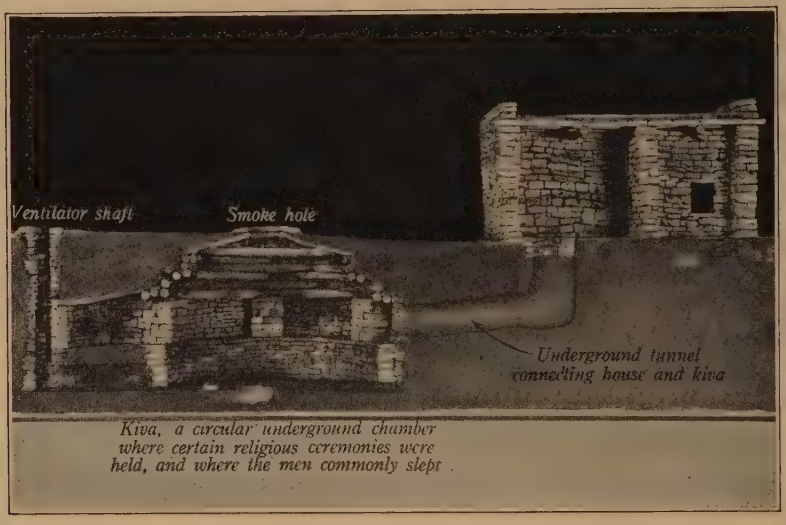
Mythology. Closely allied to totemism is the subject of mythology. As soon as the savage has given anthropomorphic characters to all the things of nature, he finds little difficulty in making up stories about them in which they perform human activities sometimes with him, more often without him. Most of these myths are primarily and essentially an account of the genesis, the functions, the history, and the destiny of a humanized fictitious male or female personage or being who is a personification of some body, principle, or phenomenon of nature or of a faculty or function of the mind, and who performs his or her functions by magic power. By the actions of these beings the mind of man tried to explain the existence and the operations of the bodies and forces of nature.

"Such a being or personage might and did personify a rock, a tree, a river, a plant, the earth, the night, the storm, the summer, the winter, a star, a dream, a thought, an action or a series of actions, or the ancient or prototype of an animal or bird. Later, such a being, always humanized in form and mind, may, by his assumed absolute and mysterious control of the thing or phenomenon personified become a hero or a god to men, through his relations with them — relations which are in fact the action and interaction of men with the things of their environments. A mythology is composed of a body of such myths and fragments thereof. But, of course, no myth that has come down to the present time is simple. Myths and parts of myths have necessarily been employed to define and explain other myths, or other and new phenomena, and the way from the first to the last is long and often broken. Vestigial myths, myths whose meaning or symbolism has from any cause whatsoever become obscured or entirely lost, constitute a great part of folklore, and such myths are also called folktales."[1]

[1] Handbook of American Indians, *Bulletin No. 30*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Vol. I, pp. 964–965.

Religious ceremonies. Many of the ceremonies of the American Indians are based on the myths, for to the savage mind there is a very close connection between the story and the beings about whom it is told. This carries us back one step farther to sympathetic magic, which is the basis of much of the religious action of nearly all savage people.

"Led astray by his ignorance of the true causes of things, primitive man believed that in order to produce the great phenomena of


Ventilator shaft
Smoke hole
Underground tunnel connecting house and kiva
Kiva, a circular underground chamber where certain religious ceremonies were held, and where the men commonly slept

A MODEL OF A PRIMITIVE PUEBLO INDIAN HOUSE AND KIVA

Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York

nature on which his life depended, he had only to imitate them, and that immediately, by a secret sympathy or mystic influence, the little drama which he acted in forest glade or mountain dell, on desert plain or wind-swept shore, would be taken up and repeated by mightier actors on a vaster stage."[1]

Two of the greatest of the religious ceremonies will be described at some length — the snake dance of the Hopis and the sun dance of the plains Indians. The former has been called the greatest of our surviving religious dramas.

"It must be remembered that the Hopi Indians live in a very arid

[1] J. G. Frazer, The Golden Bough, Vol. II, p. 110. Reprinted by permission of the publishers, The Macmillan Company.

region, where every drop of rain is needed for their crops; accordingly, each of the seven villages holds a dance every two years, in the belief that it will add to the natural rainfall. These are the noted Snake Dances, which are of such striking similarity that it will be necessary to describe but one.

The legend upon which the performance of the Snake Dance is based is as follows: the Zuñis, Hopis, Piute and the Havasupais made their recent ascent from the lower world through the Grand

THE SNAKE DANCE OF THE HOPI INDIANS

This has been called the greatest of our surviving religious dramas and is a prayer for rain. (Courtesy of the Museum of the American Indian)

Canyon of the Colorado River, some going north and others south. Those who went into the cold region were driven back by the inclement weather and so took up their abode at a place called To-ho-na-bi. This was a desert region where there was little rain and consequently but little corn. The chief of the village had two sons and two daughters. The older boy, Tiyo, determined to return, if possible, to the lower world and there learn the way of obtaining the favor of the gods. He sealed himself in a coffin-like boat, which was then placed in the river. After being tossed about for a long time he finally came to the home of the Spider Woman, who was able to weave the clouds and cause the rain to fall. She showed him the

way to reach the Chamber of the Snake-Antelope peoples. The chief received him with great kindness and taught him the ceremonies necessary to cause rain to fall and the wind to blow. He was also taught how to make the various paraphernalia necessary for the dance. Before he left, he was given two women, one for himself and one for his brother. On their way back they stopped to see the Spider Woman, who put them in a basket, so that they might return to the upper world. When Tiyo reached home, he announced that he would celebrate his marriage feast in nine days. Five days later the Snake people came from the Underworld, went into the kivas, ate corn pollen, and then disappeared. Tiyo, however, knew that they had only changed their appearance, and that they were still in the valley in the form of snakes and other reptiles. He ordered his people to go and capture them, and after they had been brought in, to wash them and dance with them. Four days were devoted to their capture — one for each of the four world-quarters. After the snakes were brought in and while they were being washed, they listened to the prayers that were uttered. They then went out and danced with their human brothers. In the end, they were taken to the valley so that they might return to the underworld, carrying with them the petitions of the men on the earth. This, in brief, is the Snake legend which is acted out in the dance.

The whole performance of the Snake Dance takes about nine days, the first eight of which are occupied with the collecting and the preparing of the snakes as was done in the legend, the making of a certain charmed mixture which is supposed to have the effect of curing any bites which the performers may receive, and of making and blessing all the paraphernalia used in the big dance, which comes on the ninth day. Throughout all of these ceremonies, there is much singing and praying in honor of the rain god. In the kiva there is an altar erected, upon which the hundred or more snakes used in the dance are thrown after they have been washed and dusted with sacred meal. This altar is symbolic and consists, for the most part, of a mosaic made of different colored sands. These sands are sprinkled on the floor, so as to form a border of several parallel rows or lines of different colors. Within this border, clouds are represented, below which four zig-zag lines are made. These lines figure the lightning, which is the symbol of the Antelope fraternity. Black lines represent

the much desired and supposedly impending rain. The palladium of the fraternity, made of feathers and strings, is placed in the corner. Other things used in the dance are laid on different parts of the altar.

On the ninth day, just before sunset, the crowning event takes place. A space of ground, preferably rock floor, comprising a few square rods, is chosen as the stage upon which the sacred drama is to be portrayed. At one side is built a sort of bower of trees about eight or ten feet in height and five or six feet in diameter. In front of the bower a hole is dug in the ground, and over this is placed a board, which, when stepped upon, produces a hollow sound. This is symbolic of the entrance to the other world, and later, when the dancers step upon it, the purpose is to call the attention of their brethren below to the ceremonial about to begin. Those taking part in the ceremony are members of the Snake and Antelope clans, usually about twenty in number. The dancers are costumed for the occasion, and much paint adorns their faces. The Snake men carry whips in their hands, and bags of sacred meal, while the leader of the Snake Society whirls a buzzing stick.

"The Antelope men are the first to appear within the court. They march four times around in a circle and take positions alongside the kisi, facing outward from it. The Snake men then enter, marching in the same way as did the members of the other society and scatter sacred meal near the bower. Each man, as he comes along, stamps on the thick board already described. As has been noted, this is to attract the attention of the gods to the zeal and faithfulness of the performers. The Snake men then form in a line about six feet from the Antelope men and face them. The Antelope men lift and drop their feet in perfect time, thus producing dull blunt sounds from the tortoise shells tied to their legs, and simultaneously shaking their suggestive hissing rattles; the Snake men, with arms linked and bodies swaying this way and that, give utterance to low deep chants.

"A moment later the Snake men have broken their line, and formed into squads of three, each consisting of a dancer, a wand-carrier, or hugger, and a gatherer. The Antelope men still remain in line. One squad after another marches around in front of the kisi. A serpent is handed by the keeper to a dancer, who has previously placed meal in his mouth. Seizing the reptile he takes it between his lips a few inches back of the head. The hugger places his left arm over the

shoulder of the dancer and, with his right, waves his feather wand before the eyes of the snake to attract its attention and keep it from burying its poisonous fangs in the face of his companion. The two pass around the court, pursuing the same course as that previously taken by the two others. The gatherer moves along near by, keeping careful watch in order to pick up the serpent in case it should wriggle out of the mouth of the dancer. Other squads follow and

A DEER DANCE

This is typical of many other similar dances practiced by hunting tribes and is an attempt to coerce the spirits into giving them the desired food supply. (Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York)

soon there is a line of these performers moving round and round, the snakes twisting and wriggling and throwing their heads about in the air, the wands rapidly rotating and gyrating, the various shells and rattles producing a most doleful noise. When the snake becomes ungovernable, the dancer lets it drop from his mouth upon the ground and it is picked up by the gatherer. When one serpent has fallen from the mouth of the dancer, he with his hugger marches around at once to the kisi for another. This is continued until all the animals are carried. The gatherer, as well as the hugger, carries a wand, and if the snake which has been dropped to the ground coils to strike, he waves the wand above the maddened creature until it

uncoils to run away, when he catches it around the neck and carries it with him. The gatherers carry bags of sacred meal, and scatter portions of the contents upon the animals, before seizing them. When the performers are going round and round with their strange talismans, the Snake women stand just outside the line of march and throw sacred meal on each as he passes. As the serpents accumulate in the hands of the gatherer so that he cannot conveniently handle them, he passes them over to the Antelope men, who hold them during the remainder of the ceremony.

"The final act of this strange drama occurs a little later when the chief Snake priest draws a sacred-meal circle some four or five feet in diameter and, within it, six radiating lines representing the four cardinal points, the zenith and the nadir. With a rush, the reptiles are piled within the enclosed space; they form a comparatively level heap sometimes several inches in height. The men thrust their naked arms into the heap and drag out as many as their hands can hold, and rush with them out of the village down to the plains below, there to set them free." [1]

The sun dance of the plains Indians is the acting out of the life of some mythical ancestor, assisted by various symbolic articles which were supposed to play a prominent part in his life. By this ceremony it is supposed that an unlimited supply of the buffaloes, upon which the people depend for food, will be brought near.

During the preparation for the dance sacred tepees are erected in which the priests stay with all their paraphernalia. The process is a long one, for everything has to be done in the prescribed manner and with much ceremony at each stage.

Before the dance begins, the priests decorate the bodies of those who are to take part. The designs which are used are symbols of the sun, the moon, and the morning star. Around their heads, waists, wrists, and ankles the dancers wear wreaths, which are emblems of the sun. Four of the old men who take part in the performances are supposed to represent the four quarters of the earth.

Among the Arapahoes before the beginning of the dance the follow-

[1] A. J. Fynn, The American Indian as a Product of Environment, pp. 212–226; J. W. Fewkes, *American Journal of Ethnology and Archæology*, Vol. IV (1894); J. G. Burke, The Snake Dance of the Moquis of Arizona; L. Havemeyer, Drama of Savage Peoples, pp. 73-80.

ing prayer is offered to the Sun: "My Grandfather, Light of the World, Old Woman Night My Grandmother — I stand here before this people, old and young. May whatever they undertake to do in this ceremony, and may their desires and wishes and anxieties in their every day life, meet with your approval; may the growing corn not fail them, and may everything they put in the ground mature, in order that they may have food and nourishment for their children and friends. May whatever light comes from above, and also the rain, be strengthened to them, that they may live on the earth under your protection. . . ."

The various portions of this dramatic Sun Dance deal with the legends of the past. The forces of nature are personified and the continued struggle for mastery between them is graphically portrayed. During one part of the dance the actors form in line and blow whistles made from the wing bone of the eagle. This accompanies the song of the musicians, who are seated about a large drum at the entrance of the lodge. It is supposed to be symbolic of the breath of life, and to represent the cry of the thunder bird.

Portions of the dance which used to be considered essential, but which have lately been abolished by the United States Government, were the various tortures which were endured. An Indian would fasten into the flesh of his breast the ends of two raw-hide thongs which hung from the top of the sacred pole. Through the flesh of his back and hips knives were thrust and through the four holes thus made short thongs were passed and securely fastened to the flesh. To the end of each of these thongs a buffalo skull was tied, which dragged on the ground. The purpose of the warrior was to dance around until the thongs were torn from his breast, and when thus released, to continue dancing until the heavy skulls had pulled the other thongs loose from his bleeding back and thighs. His friends and family, mad with religious zeal and enthusiasm, danced around him, chanting songs and urging him to bear his suffering bravely. This self-inflicted torture was a penance and was done in order that special favors might be obtained from the gods.[1]

[1] Handbook of American Indians, *Bulletin No. 30*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Vol. II, p. 651; H. L. Scott, "Notes on the Kado, or Sun Dance, of the Kiowa," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XIII, p. 345; L. Farrand, Basis of American History, pp. 138 ff.; A. J. Fynn, The American Indian as a Product of Environment, pp. 185 ff.; G. A. Dorsey, Arapaho Sun Dance, Field Museum Anthropological Series, Vol. IV,

Government. Among many of the Indian tribes there were two chiefs: one termed a sachem, the other an ordinary chief.

"The sachem was essentially a civil officer and his duties and authority were confined to times of peace; while the chief might have duties concerned with war or any other affairs for which he was peculiarly fitted. The sachem was primarily an officer of the clan, and the position was hereditary in that group; a vacancy in the office was filled by election as often as it occurred. In tribes with maternal inheritance a brother or a sister's son was usually chosen to succeed a deceased sachem, though any male member of the clan was regarded as eligible. This right of election, and the corresponding right of deposition for cause, were jealously guarded by the clans, and are the germs of democracy as expressed by the American aborigines. Among the Iroquois, the tribe occasionally stepped in and deposed a sachem for unworthy behavior, without waiting for the action of the clan. In such cases the latter appears to have been powerless to resist.

A MANDAN CHIEF

From an engraving made by Alex Macmillan, about 1832. Courtesy of the Museum of the American Indian

"The term 'chief,' as applied to leading men among the Indians, is so indefinite as to be almost meaningless. There was, however,

Chicago, 1903; A. C. Fletcher, "The Sun Dance of the Ogalalla Sioux," in Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Vol. XXXI (1882), pp. 580 ff.; G. H. Pond, "Dakota Sun Dance," in Minnesota Historical Collections, Vol. II, pp. 166 ff.; J. O. Dorsey, "A Study of the Siouan Cults," Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Vol. II, "The Sun Dance," pp. 450 ff.; L. Havemeyer, "Drama of Savage Peoples," pp. 87–89.

one qualification of great significance — namely, personal fitness. There were, in other words, chiefs rather than chieftainships, since personal prowess or ability were the conditions of the position, and the office usually died with the holder. The number of chiefs in a clan, or in a tribe without clans, was quite indefinite and depended much upon the personnel of the group. In stocks such as the Iroquois there was one chief to about every seventy-five or one hundred persons, but this cannot be taken as a criterion. In tribes with well-organized councils one of the main functions of the chief was to sit officially as a member of that body. In other more loosely constructed tribes, such as appear in the west, his duties and authority were very indefinite.

"There is much misconception regarding Indian chieftainship in general. The chief was the preeminent figure only in times of great emergency, such as war; and as those were precisely the occasions upon which the Indians were usually seen by the whites, an exaggerated idea of the chief's importance has grown up. With the passing of the emergency the chief tended to lapse back to the level of the other members of the tribe, and special authority often did not exist for him. The Indian is essentially individualistic and will not brook authority except where long-continued custom has proven its necessity. On the northwest coast, the essential condition of chieftainship is wealth, which is acquired for the purpose of making great feasts and gifts and thereby attaining increased rank in the order of nobles or chiefs. There is in that region, too, a sharp line drawn between the social classes, which makes it almost impossible for a plebeian, and quite so for a slave, to rise to the rank of chief. These social differences do not appear so much in manner of life or in the intercourse of every day as in ceremonials and in questions of marriage." [1]

League of the Iroquois. By far the most elaborate and unique governmental system north of Mexico occurred among the Iroquois.

These Indians were not a single tribe, but rather a group of nations banded together as a league to protect themselves from other Indians and to enforce peace.

[1] L. Farrand, Basis of American History, pp. 199–201. Reprinted by permission of the publishers, Harper & Brothers.

This league was made up of the Cayugas, Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Senecas, and later were joined by a sixth nation, the Tuscaroras. These nations were all of one linguistic stock, and although they spoke different dialects they understood each other. When they first came in contact with the white settlers, they were located between the Hudson River and Lake Erie. This was their homeland; but to the north, south, east, and west they held in subjection territory which they had conquered and over which they carried on their hunting activities.

At the era of their highest military supremacy (about 1660) the Iroquois, in their warlike expeditions, ranged unresisted from New England to the Mississippi and from the St. Lawrence to the Tennessee. New York was their hereditary country, the center of their power, and the seat of their council fires. Here were their villages, their fields of maize and tobacco, their fishing and hunting grounds, and the burial places of their fathers. The long house, to which they likened their political edifice, opened its eastern door upon the Hudson, and the western door looked out upon Niagara.

Formation of the league. The formation of the league goes far back to a remote and uncertain period in the history of the people. Although the time of its establishment is lost in obscurity, the circumstances attending its formation are still preserved with great minuteness. The league did not come into being gradually, but was the result of one protracted effort of legislation. The several nations whose names we have already mentioned were at open warfare with one another and had been for ages. Finally, one great wise man of the Onondagas devised the project of the league and called together representatives of the other nations to discuss the plan. They came together and kindled the first council fire on the northern shore of Lake Onondaga. After many days of careful deliberation these chiefs and wise men of the several nations drew up the laws, rules, interrelationships of the people, and mode of administration which lasted until the league was gradually absorbed into the white man's government.

After the league was firmly established the individual nations started out to subjugate all the other Indian tribes east of the Mississippi. In this task they were eminently successful, especially after

they were able to get firearms from the whites. No frightful solitude in the wilderness, no impenetrable recess in the frozen north, was proof against their courage and daring. Space offered no protection, distance no shelter from their war parties, which ranged on the territory east of the Mississippi.

From whatever point the general features of the league are scrutinized, it must be regarded as a beautiful as well as remarkable structure — the triumph of Indian legislation. When the possessions of the Iroquois were enlarged by conquest followed by occupation, it was an expansion, and not a dismemberment of the contiguous nations. Peace itself was one of the ultimate objects aimed at by the founders of this Indian oligarchy, to be secured by the admission or the subjugation of surrounding nations. In their progressive course their empire enlarged until they had stretched their chain around half our republic and rendered their names a terror from the hills of New England to the deepest seclusions upon the Mississippi.

The rule of the league was placed in the hands of fifty sachems who were chosen from the five nations. These offices were equal in rank and authority; there were not the same number from each nation, but as each nation had to vote as a unit, no one had greater power than any other. In this distribution the Mohawks had nine, the Oneidas nine, the Onondagas fourteen, the Cayugas ten, and the Senecas eight. In this Council of the League rested not only the executive, but also the legislative and the judicial authority.

These sachemships were hereditary, and to avoid any disputes each sachem was "raised up" and given his title by the Council of the League. Until this ceremony had been performed no one could become a ruler. If one of these men died or was for any reason deposed, his title was taken from him and given to his successor from the same nation. While there is nothing to prove that any law existed whereby the succession to the title of sachem stayed in one family, yet it usually happened that the tribal council picked one of the deceased ruler's sisters' sons or one of his brothers. If a nation lost confidence in its sachem because of his misconduct or inefficiency, he was deposed and his successor chosen by the national council.

These sachems, in whom rested the supreme authority of the league, were the rulers of their individual nations. For instance, the fourteen Onondaga sachems administered the affairs of their own nation with

joint authority just as, together with their colleagues from other nations, they administered the affairs of the league as a whole.

For a long time the sachems were the only rulers, but later a certain number of chieftainships were founded. This was done because there sprang up around the sachems a group of warriors who were eloquent in the council and who demanded some participation in the affairs of the state. For a long time the sachems fought their demands; but at last the group became too powerful to be withstood, and so the office of chief was created. A man was elected to his position as a reward for merit, but the title was not hereditary in the nation or family of the man holding it and usually ceased at his death. At first the chiefs had very limited powers and were used principally as advisers to the sachems; but as time went on, this class, to which there was no limit, had so enlarged their influence that they became almost as powerful as the sachems themselves.

The functions of both the sachems and the chiefs were of a civil character and were confined entirely to things of peace. No sachem was allowed to go to war in his official capacity, and if he desired to fight he became merely a common warrior. It is rather remarkable that there were no distinct war chiefs whose duties were confined entirely to the battlefield, nor did the sachems and the chiefs have any power of appointing such persons. In nearly every case military operations were carried out by private persons who gathered around them a group of voluntary warriors, and the sachems tried rather to restrain this military desire than to encourage it.

The seat of the government was with that nation which was the most centrally located; that is, the Onondagas. Here it was that at stated intervals (usually in the fall of the year) the Council of the League met to legislate on those things which were of common interest. The council could be called at any time when matters arose requiring the attention of the whole body, but any nation could be the meeting ground for these assemblies. At first the object of the yearly council was to raise up sachems to fill vacancies; but as the years advanced, and the foreign relations became more complicated, this council undertook all matters of general interest to the league. It made peace, sent and received embassies, entered into treaties of alliance, regulated the affairs of subjugated nations, received new members into the league, extended its protection over feeble tribes;

in a word, took all needful measures to promote their prosperity and enlarge their dominion.[1]

Only through the Council of the League is it possible to study the government of the League of the Iroquois, for when this body was not in session the government had no visible existence. When the sachems were scattered to their respective nations, they wielded there merely local and individual power, or, sitting in their national councils, they adjusted the affairs of their individual nations. In other words, when they were not sitting with the Council of the League they had no international powers, only local power.

The method of government by the council was of the most liberal character, and although it was an oligarchy, yet the sachems did not set themselves up as arbitrary rulers to force their own will against an unwilling people. On the contrary, they listened to the voice of public opinion and welcomed the views of the people. If a matter of general interest arose, a group of chiefs or other influential men and women talked the matter over, and having reached a decision would send an orator to present the matter to the council. If, after due deliberation, the sachems thought that the interests of all the nations demanded its acceptance, this was done; if not, it was rejected and the reasons were given.

There were three distinct types of councils held by the league; Civil, Mourning, and Religious. There was no event of any importance for the nations as a whole but what was dealt with in one of these councils.

The Civil Council was called for the purpose of dealing with foreign nations or for taking care of those matters not dealt with by one of the other councils. If a foreign nation wished to lay some plan before the league, it would apply to one or another nation; for instance, the Mohawk. The sachems of the latter would meet, and if they considered the matter to be of enough general interest to summon the Council of the League they would send out runners to notify their members. The wampum belt that was carried by these messengers announced the time and place for the meeting of the league and the purpose for which it was called.

If the matter was of great general interest all the people from the oldest to the youngest would flock toward the place of meeting. On

[1] Adapted from L. H. Morgan's "League of the Iroquois," Vol. I, p. 63.

the appointed day when the sachems were gathered together, surrounded by all the assembled peoples, the foreign envoy was introduced to them. A member of the council, chosen beforehand, opened the meeting by a prayer in which thanks were offered for the privilege of meeting together. The envoy then arose and presented the objects of his mission in an eloquent speech. When he had finished he withdrew to a distance, and the matter was taken up for deliberation by the council. All questions were reduced to a single proposition, so that a direct negative or affirmative answer could be given. To prevent a great amount of talking that might lead to nothing, this expedient was adopted: The sachems of each nation were divided up into three or four groups. It was necessary first for the members of each group to agree on a proposition. Then the representatives of each group within a nation would meet and agree, so that the nation was of one opinion. It was now necessary for a delegate from each nation to meet with those of the other nations. When an agreement or a disagreement was finally reached, the council was again convened and the matter was formally voted upon. The foreign delegate was called in, and an orator, chosen from the sachems of the nation to whom the petition was originally presented, outlined the whole subject and stated the decision that had been reached. This ended the business, and the foreign ambassador took his departure.

The Mourning Councils were called to "raise up" those sachems who were to fill the vacancies caused by death or deposition, or to ratify the election of some chief who had been raised up by his own nation as a reward for some noteworthy service.

The Religious Councils dealt entirely with festivals of various kinds, but they had no special political importance.

The one great weakness of the league was the lack of provision for an executive. When any order was promulgated by the council there was no force but that of public opinion to see that it was carried out. However, this was so strong that as far as we know every decree was carried out to the letter.[1]

War. There were two kinds of warfare among the Indians: defensive warfare, or fighting for the protection of women and children, the house, and the village; and aggressive warfare, or the going forth of expeditions to avenge injuries or to take spoils.

[1] Adapted from L. H. Morgan's "League of the Iroquois."

In defensive warfare the attack would frequently be made so suddenly that the people of the village would have no time to organize. In such cases the warriors would rush out and aim to engage the enemy beyond the limits of the village while the women were throwing up breastworks and digging trenches in which to hide the children from the flying arrows. The women would then frequently engage in the fight, often at close range, using knives or any other objects upon which they could lay their hands.[1]

"In such fighting there is of course none of that pomp and glamour which accompany the immense armies of great civilized nations. Since the attacks were of the nature of hand-to-hand combats, there was no avoiding the ugly features that must always accompany that kind of hostility. Personal wrongs, individual hatred, long-standing feuds, tribal grievances, revenge, plunder, and the abnormally developed craving for strife and blood were the most noticeable factors that entered into savage warfare. The methods have been characterized as deceitful, cowardly, and inhuman. It is true that we may recall many instances of fighting which appear disgusting and shocking to sensitive, civilized people; but it is nevertheless worthy of notice that the white man learned and appropriated many arts and tricks of border combat from his less pretentious red foe." [2]

In offensive warfare "the organization of a campaign was usually informal in its beginning. An individual would announce his intention to conduct a raid and ask for volunteers to accompany him. His success in mustering a band would naturally depend upon his reputation as a warrior and his powers of persuasion. It must be remembered that all military service was everywhere voluntary, the only force compelling an unwilling man to join a war-party being public opinion and the dread of being considered a coward. Among the more highly organized tribes and confederacies extensive campaigns for purposes of defence were decided upon by the tribal or confederation council, and the execution of the decision was left to the recognized war-chief or chiefs, but even in such cases the service of the individual was voluntary. Occasionally war would be declared with considerable

[1] Handbook of American Indians, *Bulletin No. 30*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Vol. II, p. 915.

[2] A. J. Fynn, The American Indian as a Product of Environment, p. 237. Permission of the author.

formality, and notice sent by means of belts or symbolic objects, and treaties of peace were made and sealed in the same way. The authority of the leader was vague, though usually recognized while the campaign was in progress. Punishment for disobedience was seldom anything more than expulsion from the band and ridicule at the hands of the women and children upon the culprit's return home." [1]

It was the desire of all the young men of the tribe to become warriors, and they were willing to undergo all hardships and privations in order to discipline themselves for the military life. After they had once decided to join a war party they were obliged to refrain from all personal indulgences and to accept whatever duties might be prescribed by the leader.

"Before leaving on the war-path a dance was participated in by the intending warriors, the obvious purpose being to inflame their passion and increase their enthusiasm; and upon the return from a successful raid, dances and ceremonies of celebration and thanksgiving were held, and often developed into the wildest orgies." [2]

"In battle the warriors were not required to keep close together except when making a charge, but while each man fought more or less independently, friend stood by friend to death, and only under great stress was the body of a companion left to the knife of the victor. Frequently the severest fighting took place about the body of a fallen comrade. The leader exercised no control over the men in regard to taking honors, such as touching, striking, or scalping an enemy: each man was free to take all the honors he would, but only the leader had the right to divide the spoils, and no one could question his apportionment." [3]

The aim of a great deal of the warfare was to destroy; and as every person, old or young, was a part of the present or future strength of the enemy, neither age nor sex was spared and no noncombatants were recognized. Mutilation of the dead was neither universal nor constant among the tribes, but beheading or scalping was generally practiced. The chief value of the scalp was the fact that it was regarded as a trophy and a proof of the warrior's prowess, although in

[1] L. Farrand, Basis of American History, pp. 244–245. Reprinted by permission of the publishers, Harper & Brothers.

[2] Ibid. pp. 244–246.

[3] Handbook of American Indians, *Bulletin No. 30*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Vol. II, p. 915.

all probability there was a deeper reason behind the custom. The possession of the scalp may have signified a certain power over the soul of the victim. These scalps were worn by the takers and were used in religious ceremonials.

Where captives were taken their treatment differed among the various tribes. Adoption was common to nearly all, especially in the case of women and children.

"Although the life of a captive was generally regarded as forfeit, yet among many tribes there were ways by which either a captive could save his own life or it could be saved by members of the tribe. Among some tribes there was a particular village or clan that had the right to shelter or protect a fugitive; among others the chief's tent afforded asylum, or if food was offered and taken the captive was spared; others subjected captives to ordeals which if the captive survived he was saved."[1]

The usual object of adopting a prisoner was that he might fill the place of someone who had died, and it is said that whatever his own character he was treated exactly as though he possessed the character of his predecessor.

In the east the torture of prisoners was more common than in the west, but even there it was not so common as is usually supposed. Selected individuals were taken for the purpose, and behind the practice there was generally a religious motive. It was a custom in many tribes to eat the flesh of one of the victims after a victory. This was done with the idea of taking over the powers and the desirable qualities of the slain, and was as far as cannibalism ever went.

"Among the eastern tribes, on arriving at the village a dance was held, at which the captives were expected to play a conspicuous part. They were often placed in the center of a circle of dancers, were sometimes compelled to sing and dance also, and a few were usually subjected to revolting tortures and finally burned at the stake. The Iroquois, some Algonquians, and several western tribes forced prisoners to run between the lines of people armed with clubs, tomahawks, and other weapons, and spared, at least temporarily, those who reached the chief's house, a certain post, or some other goal."[2]

"While the wars of the Indians among themselves were constant

[1] Handbook of American Indians, *Bulletin No. 30*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Vol. II, p. 914.

[2] Ibid. Vol. I, p. 204.

they were usually on a small scale. Nevertheless, the formation of confederacies brought about a condition which united large bodies of men, and sometimes produced active hostilities of such magnitude and duration that they exerted a profound influence on the distribution of the tribes. Such, for example, was the effect of the Iroquois League, whose struggle with surrounding Algonquian tribes lasted for centuries and determined the native occupancy of the entire northeastern portion of the United States."[1]

Secret Societies. "Societies or brotherhoods of a secret and usually sacred character existed among very many American tribes, among many more, doubtless, than those from which there is definite information.

"On the Plains the larger number of these were war societies, and they were graded in accordance with the age and attainments of the members. The Buffalo society was a very important body devoted to healing disease. The Omaha and Pawnee seem to have had a great number of societies, organized for all sorts of purposes. There were societies concerned with the religious mysteries, with the keeping of records, and with the dramatization of myths, ethical societies, and societies of mirth-makers, who strove in their performances to reverse the natural order of things. We find also a society considered able to will people to death, a society of 'big-bellied men,' and among the Cheyenne a society of firewalkers, who trod upon fires with their bare feet until the flames were extinguished."[2]

Many of the initiation rites of these societies were very elaborate. The following instances will serve to illustrate this:

The wolf ritual among the Nootka Indians of North America was a dramatic performance representing the capture of the novices by the wolves, their recapture from the wolves, the exorcism of the wolf spirits that they might have brought back with them, and the performance of dances that the novices were supposed to have been taught by the wolves. The Nootka tradition runs that this secret society was instituted by wolves who took away a chief's son and tried to kill him, but, failing to do so, became his friends, taught him

[1] L. Farrand, Basis of American History, pp. 245–246. Reprinted by permission of the publishers, Harper & Brothers.

[2] Handbook of American Indians, *Bulletin No. 30*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Vol. I, p. 495.

the rites of the society and ordered him to teach them to his friends on his return home. They then carried the young man back to his village. They also begged that whenever he moved from one place to another he would kindly leave behind him some red cedar-bark to be used by them in their own ceremonies; and to this custom the Nootka tribes still adhere. Every new member of the society must be initiated by the wolves. At night a pack of wolves, impersonated by the Indians dressed in wolf-skins and wearing wolf-masks, make their appearance, seize the novice, and carry him into the woods. When the wolves are heard outside the village, coming to fetch away the novice, all the members of the society blacken their faces and sing. Next day the wolves bring back the novice dead, and the members of the society have to revive him. The wolves are supposed to have put a magic stone into his body, which must be removed before he can come to life. Till this is done the pretended corpse is left lying outside the house. Two wizards go and remove the stone, which appears to be quartz, and then the novice is resuscitated.

Another initiation of importance is as follows: A lance was prepared which had a very sharp point so arranged that the slightest pressure on its tip would cause the steel gradually to sink into the shaft. In sight of the multitude crowding the lodge, this lance was pressed in the bare chest of the candidate and apparently sunk in his body to the shaft, when he would tumble down simulating death. At the same time a quantity of blood, previously kept in the mouth, would issue from the would-be corpse, making it quite clear to the uninitiated gazers-on that the terrible knife had had its effect, when lo! upon one of the actors striking up one of the chants especially made for the circumstance and richly paid for, the candidate would gradually rise up a new man.[1]

Potlatch. One important ceremony of the northwest was that of the potlatch, at which a man gave away to relatives and friends large quantities of blankets, cloth, and other things that he had been able to gather together. Farrand thinks that this was an elaborate and beneficial system of credit. He goes on to prove his point by saying that before any undertaking an Indian called on his friends for help in the shape of loans. These were always repaid with interest at a

[1] L. Havemeyer, Drama of Savage Peoples, pp. 136–137, 140–141; J. G. Frazer, The Golden Bough (1900), Vol. III, pp. 433–435.

later date and, owing to lack of a system of writing, such payments or repayments were always made publicly to give security to the transaction. This public negotiation, which was conducted with elaborate ceremonial and feasting, was the potlatch.[1]

Another writer feels that "the potlatch is given primarily for self-glorification. The man who gives one receives honour and public esteem for himself and his family in proportion to the amount he gives away. He is the most renowned who has given the greatest or the greatest number of potlatches. A man who is ambitious to give a potlatch will save and stint for years, even to the extent of denying himself and family the necessities of life, that he may give as big a one as possible. The members of his family contribute their quota and endure the privations it entails. From two to five thousand dollars' worth of goods are sometimes given away in a single potlatch. Men absolutely impoverish themselves and families, but their poverty is patiently endured for the name that has been established. Henceforth the man is an honoured member of the community, however low he was before he gave the potlatch. He and his will be given a seat of honour in all public functions and a liberal share of what is distributed in every feast to which they are invited.

"Feasting and dancing are important features of the event and are never omitted.

"Invitations to attend a potlatch are sent by special messengers long before the affair is to come off; sometimes the people know of it months or even years before it takes place. Men, women and children attend, as at all their feasts. Invitations are sent to the people of distant villages and to those of a different phratry from the one to which the man giving the potlatch belongs. Those of the great man's totem may attend, but they cannot receive any of the gifts that are distributed. The wife of any man or the husband of any woman who is of the same totem as the one giving the potlatch may and does receive gifts, as the totem is different from that of the native philanthropist.

"When the important day comes, the village is a whirl of intense excitement. The honoured guests, two hundred or more in number, are sighted as they approach in their canoes. Flags wave from the

[1] L. Farrand, Basis of American History, p. 113. Reprinted by permission of the publishers, Harper & Brothers.

prow and stern of every canoe and on the shore. Before a canoe of the happy fleet touches the strand, they are drawn up in peaceful array to hear words of welcome from the great chief. After the response from the spokesman of the incoming guests, they all draw to the shore and their hospitable friends receive them to their homes.

"For the next week or ten days things are moving in this village. Every day and night feasting and dancing engage and thrill the merry-makers. The great tribal heirlooms are brought out and totemic emblems are profusely displayed on paraphernalia of every description. Faces are painted with stripes betokening the totem of the individual wearing them. The dull, monotonous beat of the drum is frequently heard — the only object resembling a musical instrument used in the potlatch; doleful as it is, it excites the natives who hear it. The communal house where the great potlatch is given is thronged and is the scene of varied activities. The dancers take their places, and after an appointed spokesman has made some appropriate remarks, dancing begins. After this set has danced an hour or more, a fresh set from another tribe takes the floor. Feasting is interspersed and the distribution of the goods to be given away is made. Great bundles of blankets, prints, muslin and edibles of various kinds are given out. While many of the blankets are given away whole, others are torn into quarters and these fractions are bestowed. The prints and bolts of muslin are given out by the yard, the edibles in quantity. Every man receives according to his social standing. While the dancing is in progress various songs peculiar to the tribe of the one giving the potlatch are sung, or, more correctly speaking, chanted.

"The period covered in giving a potlatch varies according to the amount of goods which have been accumulated to be given away. It may be from one to six days. It often happens, however, that several are ready to give potlatches in succession, and so they run along without a break for two or three weeks.

"The potlatch is conducted according to well-defined rules laid down by custom, and no departure from these rules is tolerated."[1]

Conclusion. The saddest day for the American Indian was when Columbus stepped ashore at the Bahamas, for it meant for him the

[1] L. E. Jones, A Study of the Thlingets of Alaska, pp. 140–143. By permission of Fleming H. Revell & Co.

beginning of the end of his national existence. From the very first these natives were treated with the utmost cruelty. They were cheated, tortured, enslaved, robbed; yet if it had not been for the Indian the settlement of North America would have been a far more difficult task than it was.

"Nearly all of the early settlers and discoverers owed their lives, their success and their wealth to the Indians. The Puritans could never have survived their first winter in Massachusetts had it not been for the aid given by the friendly Indians. Columbus might never have found gold had it not been for the Indians' help. . . . The settlements of Pennsylvania, Virginia and many other portions of America were made possible by the Indians. Had it not been for Indian friends who acted as guides, pilots and hunters, the buccaneers could never have performed their marvelous deeds, the power of Spain would not have been broken, and we might now be living under the Spanish flag. In countless other ways the Indians aided the Europeans."[1]

As the number of whites increased they killed their Indian friends, drove them from their own lands, and made treaties with them which were not kept. When the Federal government was established on the basis that all men are created free and equal the Indians were driven from their homes and placed on reservations in a new and alien territory.

"Even then they were not allowed to live in peace. If white men cast covetous eyes upon the Indians' lands the Indians were again herded together and driven like cattle to still more desolate, hopeless, and worthless lands. And when irrigation made these deserts possible of cultivation, when oil was discovered, the Indians were again the ones to 'move on.' If they protested against leaving the homes and farms they had established through industry and toil they were harried, imprisoned, or shot as malcontents.

"When the peaceful Nez Perces, seeking only freedom, attempted to leave the United States and find refuge in Canada they were chased by our cavalry, attacked, shot down, and forced as prisoners to return to the reservation our government had seen fit to allot to them. And yet the Nez Perces, under Chief Joseph, had committed no hostile

[1] A. H. Verrill, The American Indian, pp. 57–58. By permission of the publishers, D. Appleton and Company, New York.

act. On their long march they had molested no whites, had destroyed no property, had not taken a scalp.

"From first to last it has been considered no crime for a white man to rob or murder an Indian. Within the past few years many of the Osage tribe have been ruthlessly killed by whites in order to secure possession of the Indians' oil lands. Not content with killing an Indian or an entire family one at a time, an Indian's house was dynamited and the whole family destroyed while asleep. And up to the present no one has been convicted of these crimes, and the chances are no one ever will be.

"If our reservations had been honestly and fairly conducted and administered it would not have been so bad. But from the first, the Indian reservations have been national scandals. Graft, corruption, dishonesty, selfishness, and mistreatment of the Indians have gone on unchecked, and, when too obvious, have been whitewashed. In addition, innumerable interfering individuals — reformists, blue-law advocates, sanctimonious busybodies, and plain every-day fools — have had their fingers in the Indian pie. The Indians' age-old customs, ancestral beliefs, and sacred ceremonies have been censored, forbidden, and interfered with until the Indian cannot call his soul his own.

"No race in the world has ever been subjected to such oppressions, such treachery, such inconsideration as the American Indian. It is little wonder that under such treatment he has become listless, hopeless, depraved, dishonest, and suspicious. Yet, despite all, the Indians, as a whole, have held their own, have retained their characteristics, their folk-lore and traditions, their dialects and customs.

"Many have become industrious, prosperous, hard-working farmers and cattlemen, and many have become millionaires. By some strange whim of fate our efforts to herd the Indians on the most worthless areas of our land have redounded to the Indians' benefit as far as wealth is concerned. And many of the Indians have reached high attainments."[1]

But the future of the Indian is still in doubt. It is barely possible that he may continue to hold to his racial unity, but more and more of them are marrying with the whites.

[1] A. H. Verrill, The American Indian, pp. 62–64. By permission of the publishers, D. Appleton and Company, New York.

"The product of such mixtures seems also to be well adapted to survive. There is no evidence that the often described undesirable qualities of the mixed blood are inherent in the crossing, but in most cases they are traits fostered by the unfortunate social environment in which such an individual finds himself. Virtually an outcast from both the higher and lower groups, it is not strange that the adult half-breed should exhibit questionable characteristics. The half-blood woman is also more prolific than the full-blood, which is a point of great significance in forecasting the future. In the light of the processes now in operation, gradual absorption by the surrounding whites seems to be the Indians' most probable fate."[1]

[1] L. Farrand, Basis of American History, p. 271. Reprinted by permission of the publishers, Harper & Brothers.

CHAPTER XX

AZTECS

Environment. The country that was the center of the Aztec civilization occupied but a relatively small portion of what is now the modern state of Mexico. While the exact size cannot be definitely stated, it is probable that at no time did it exceed forty-eight thousand square miles, or about twice the size of New England. Its boundaries extended on the Atlantic Ocean from eighteen degrees to twenty-one degrees north, and on the western side from fourteen to nineteen degrees. But within this small area there was to be found every variety of climate from the steaming tropics to the frozen North, from regions that were parched for want of rain to those that were abundantly watered by frequent showers.

The Sierra Madre enters this region from the north in two principal ranges, one extending along the coast of the Pacific and the other, higher one along the Atlantic. They unite before reaching the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. The eastern branch opens out into a high table-land several hundred miles in area, with an altitude of from six to eight thousand feet above sea level. From this high plateau, or rather series of plateaus, rise the lofty ranges of mountains and even higher volcanic peaks that are forever covered with snow. Situated in the center of this table-land and surrounded by a wall of volcanic rock is a valley about a hundred and sixty miles round. It is the most famous in the whole country, for it is the valley of Mexico, which was called Anáhuac, meaning "country by the waters." The name was taken from the fact that at one time lakes occupied about one tenth of the whole area. This valley, which is about seven thousand five hundred feet above sea level, has a mean annual temperature of about sixty-two degrees. The climate is very similar to that of southern Europe, although it is somewhat drier. The soil is very fertile; but the rich forests that once covered it have been removed, so that now there are great bare spots exposed to the evaporating force of a tropical sun. On the Pacific slope the Sierra

Madre descend so rapidly to the ocean that the coastal plain is scarcely more than twenty miles in width, and because of its unimportance it exerted very little influence on the civilization of the early peoples. On the Atlantic and Gulf coasts there is a broad tract of level plain and marsh which farther inland gradually ascends to the mountains. The coastal region presents all the features of tropical climate and vegetation. In the neighborhood of what is now Vera Cruz there are many barren and sandy tracts, but elsewhere the land is covered with a dense tropical growth of trees, vines, and flowers.

History. Long before the arrival of the Aztecs, a group of people known as the Toltecs came down from some unknown region in the north and occupied the territory of Anáhuac. Little is known with certainty of these people, whose records have vanished and whose history can be gleaned only from the traditions and legends of the peoples who succeeded them. Apparently they were well instructed in the art of agriculture and knew many of the most useful mechanical arts.

"They invented the complex arrangement of time adopted by the Aztecs and were the true fountains of the civilization which distinguished this part of the continent in later times. They established their capital at Tula, north of the Mexican valley, and the remains of extensive buildings were to be discerned there at the time of the conquest.

"After a period of four centuries, the Toltecs, who had extended their sway over the remotest borders of Anáhuac, having been greatly reduced, it is said, by famine, pestilence and unsuccessful wars, disappeared from the land as silently and mysteriously as they had entered it. A few of them still lingered behind, but much the greater number probably spread over the regions of Central America and the neighboring isles." [1]

About a hundred years later another tribe, called the Chichimecs, came down from the far northwest. They were followed by other races of high civilization that probably belonged to the same family as the Toltecs, whose language they spoke. The name "Nahua" is given to this entire linguistic group.

These various peoples settled around the valley of Anáhuac on the shores of the lake. The three principal groups were the Acolhuas, the

[1] W. H. Prescott, Conquest of Mexico, Vol. I, pp. 11–14.

Aztecs, and the Tepanecs, and their respective capitals were Tezcuco, Mexico, and Tlacopan. Within the valley the eastern portion belonged to Tezcuco, the southern and western to Mexico, and a small territory in the northwest to Tlacopan. These three peoples founded a confederation, but the most powerful state was that of the Aztecs.

"While keeping within the boundaries of their respective provinces, so far as the Valley of Mexico was concerned, these three chief powers united their forces to extend their conquests beyond the limits of the valley in every direction. Thus under the leadership of a line of warlike kings Mexico extended her domain to the shores of either ocean, and rendered the tribes therein tributary to her. During this period of foreign conquest, the Aztec kings, more energetic, ambitious, warlike, and unscrupulous than their allies, acquired a decided preponderance in the confederate councils and possessions; so that, originally but a small tribe, one of the many which had settled in the valley of Anáhuac, by its valor and success in war, by the comparatively broad extent of its domain, by the magnificence of its capital, the only aboriginal town in America rebuilt by its conquerors in anything like its pristine splendor, and especially by being the people that came directly into contact with the invaders in the desperate struggles of the Conquest, the Aztecs became to Europeans, and to the whole modern world, the representatives of the American civilized peoples. Hence in the observations of those who were personally acquainted with these peoples, little or no distinction is made between the many different nations of Central Mexico, all being described as Aztecs. Indeed, many of the lesser nations favored this error, being proud to claim identity with the brave and powerful people to whose valor they had been forced to succumb. While this state of things doubtless creates some confusion by failing to show clearly the slight tribal differences that existed, yet the difficulty is not a serious one, from the fact that very many of these nations were unquestionably of the same blood as the Aztecs, and that all drew what civilization they possessed from the same Nahua source." [1]

In this chapter, therefore, we shall continue to speak of the Aztecs in their representative character, including directly in this term all the nations permanently subjected to the three ruling powers in Anáhuac.

[1] H. H. Bancroft, The Native Races of the Pacific States, Vol. II, pp. 92–93.

Physical and mental characteristics. The Aztecs were physically a very fine race. "They were described by all the old writers as being tall, well formed, and of an olive or light copper color, as having thick, black, coarse though soft and glossy hair, regular teeth, low, narrow, retreating foreheads, black eyes, scant beards and very little hair on their bodies. Their senses were very acute, especially that of sight, which they enjoyed unimpaired to the most advanced age. Their bodies they kept in training by constant exercise. They were wonderful runners and leapers, and some of their acrobatic feats were looked upon by the conquerors as nothing short of the work of the devil." [1]

AZTECS OF THE PRESENT DAY

"The character of the Aztecs, although the statements of the best authors are nearly unanimous concerning it, is in itself strangely contradictory. We are told that they were extremely frugal in their habits, that wealth had no attraction for them, yet we find them trafficking in the most shrewd and careful manner, delighting in splendid pageants, gorgeous dresses, and rich armor, and wasting their substance in costly feasts. They were tender and kind to their children and solicitous for their welfare, yet the punishments they inflicted on their offspring were cruel in the extreme; they were mild with their slaves, and ferocious with their captives; they were a joyous race, fond of feasting, dancing, jesting and innocent amusements, yet they delighted in human sacrifices and were cannibals. They possessed a well-advanced civilization, yet every action of their lives was influenced by gross superstition, by a religion inconceivably dark and bloody, and utterly without one redeeming feature; they were brave warriors, and terrible in war, yet servile and submissive to their superiors; they had a strong imagination and, in

[1] H. H. Bancroft, The Native Races of the Pacific States, Vol. II, pp. 624–625.

some instances, good taste, yet they represented their gods as monsters, and their religious myths and historical legends are absurd, disgusting and puerile. Thus did they present as many conflicting characteristics as can well be found in any single group.

"That the Nahuas were a most ingenious people is abundantly proven by their work as well as by the statements of those who knew them. . . . It is certain that their power of imitation was very great, and that they were very quick to learn the new arts introduced among them by the Spaniards. They were generous and remarkably free from avarice. They are said to have been very temperate in their habits, but judging from the vast numbers of dishes served up at the tables of the rich, and the stringent laws which were necessary to prevent drunkenness, this appears doubtful. Although terrible to their enemies, and naturally warlike, they were peaceable among themselves, and seldom quarreled."[1]

Illness. From all accounts it would seem that the Aztecs were a healthy race. This was due not only to a good climate but also to their hardy training, active life, frequent bathing, and temperate habits. Indigestion and its accompanying ills were practically unknown, and we are told that deformed people were considered such a curiosity that Montezuma kept a collection of them. The diseases which were most common were acute fevers, colds, pleurisy, catarrh, diarrhea, and, on the coast, intermittent fever and consumption. When the Spanish came they brought with them smallpox, measles, and other diseases of civilization, with the result that whole groups were carried off within a very short time.

"Accustomed to look on death in its most terrible form in connection with their oft-recurring religious festivals, the people seem to have become somewhat callous to its dread presence, and to have met its approach with less fear of the dark and unknown hereafter than might have been expected from their superstitious nature. An attack of illness did not necessarily produce great anxiety or an immediate recourse to the doctor's services; but the common people resorted for the most part to simple home cures, which were the more effective as the curative properties of herbs and their modes of application were generally well known."[2]

[1] H. H. Bancroft, The Native Races of the Pacific States, Vol. II, pp. 626–627.
[2] Ibid. pp. 594–595.

One of the first remedies that was resorted to in time of almost any illness was the vapor bath. All wealthy citizens had one of these bathhouses, and poor people, who could not afford this luxury, would hold one in common. The little building was made of stone or adobe and had a stone floor, upon which the fire was lighted. When this was sufficiently hot the coals were drawn out, the person taking the bath entered, and cold water was thrown on the hot stones, causing the steam to rise. Usually after a sufficient steaming the person would plunge into a cold pool. These baths were also used frequently by the well as a means to cleanliness and to refreshment of weary bodies.

In cases of severe illness where the expense could not be met by the poorer classes, government hospitals were established in the larger cities. They were heavily endowed, so that the patients were treated free of charge by experienced doctors, surgeons, and nurses who had been trained in the native healing arts.

The medical profession was one of the most highly honored callings. The knowledge was handed down from father to son, for it was customary in all professions for the son to follow in the footsteps of his father. The teaching from early childhood, the opportunity for practice in the public hospitals, the chance for anatomical work on the numerous sacrificial victims, and the free access to the governmental herb gardens gave the student an educational opportunity that could not but prove beneficial.

"Medicines were given in all the usual forms of draught, powder, injection, ointment, plaster and so forth, the material for which was gathered from the three natural kingdoms in great variety. Many of the herbs were doubtless obtained from the gardens, but large quantities were obtained in the forests of different provinces by wandering collectors who brought their herbs to the market places for sale, or even peddled them, it is said, from house to house. Each ailment had its particular corrective, the knowledge of which was not entrusted to the memory alone, but was also recorded in painted books. Doubtless many of the vegetable and other medicines employed were mere nostrums administered to give an exalted opinion of the doctor's knowledge and skill rather than with any hope of expecting a cure."[1]

[1] H. H. Bancroft, The Native Races of the Pacific States, Vol. II, p. 598.

With all the real knowledge of the curative properties of various substances, there went a great deal of superstitious quackery. All sorts of materials were applied that could have had no possible influence in effecting a cure, and the doctors even attempted numerous sympathetic magic rites which were similar in every detail to those practiced by savage tribes in every portion of the globe.

Self-maintenance. *Food.* The food of the Aztecs was abundant and varied. On the tables of the nobles appeared the animals of the chase, the fish from the sea or the numerous lakes, and the vegetables and fruits from their highly cultivated gardens. They also regarded as delicious food, flies from the lakes, which were dried, ground, boiled, and eaten in the form of cakes; the eggs of the same fly, which were eaten as we do caviar; many kinds of insects, ants, and bees; a slime which formed on the surface of lakes and which was dried until it resembled cheese; the eggs of turkeys and turtles, which were roasted, boiled, and made into omelets; various reptiles, frogs and frog spawn, shrimps, sardines, and crabs, corn silk, cherry stones.

Despite their high civilization the Nahuas consumed human flesh. There is no doubt that they ate the arms and the legs of the victims sacrificed to the gods. Their religious cannibalism was probably not practiced before the cruel-minded Aztecs came into power, but after that time the custom of eating the flesh of sacrificed enemies became almost universal. However, there is little evidence to show that cannibalism as a source of food, unconnected with religious rites, was ever practiced. It was natural that through long usage they became fond of this food, but that their prejudice was strong against eating the flesh of any but their sacrificed foes is proved by the fact that multitudes died of starvation during the siege of Mexico by Cortez.

Royal meals. The king always ate alone in one of the largest rooms of the palace. If it was cold weather a charcoal fire was kindled that did not smoke but gave off a delicious perfume. The king was seated on a low leather cushion over which the soft skins of animals were thrown. The dinner service was of the finest ware, and many of the goblets were of gold and silver. It is said that Montezuma had a complete service of gold, but he kept it in the temple because a king could not use a vessel more than once. His menu consisted of all sorts of fish, flesh, and fowl to be found in the kingdom, and food was even brought to the royal table from beyond the boundaries.

"Relays of couriers were employed in bringing delicacies from afar, and as the royal table was every day supplied with fresh fish brought, without the modern aids of ice and air-tight packing, from a sea-coast more than a hundred miles distant, by a road passing chiefly through a tropical climate, we can form some idea of the speed with which these couriers traveled. There were cunning cooks among the Aztecs and at these extravagant meals there was about as much variety in the cooking as in the matter cooked."[1]

One writer gives a long list of roast, stewed, and boiled dishes of meat, fish, and poultry seasoned with many kinds of herbs, of which the commonest was chile. There were many kinds of bread that very closely resembled the modern Mexican tortilla; there were curious messes, such as frog spawn and stewed ants cooked with chile; "but more loathsome to us than even such as these . . . was one highly seasoned, and probably savory smelling dish, so exquisitely prepared that its principal ingredient was completely disguised, yet that ingredient was nothing else than human flesh. Each dish was kept warm by a chafing-dish placed under it. Writers do not agree as to the exact quantity of food served up at each meal, but it must have been immense, since the lowest number of dishes given is three hundred and the highest three thousand. They were brought into the hall by four hundred pages of noble birth, who placed their burdens on the matted floor and retired noiselessly. The king then pointed out such viands as he wished to partake of, or left the selection to his steward, who doubtless took pains to study the likes and dislikes of the royal palate."[2]

Hunting and fishing. The most abundant game killed for food, clothes, or sacrifice were deer, hares, wild hogs, wolves, foxes, jaguars, lions, coyotes, monkeys, pigeons, partridges, quails, and aquatic birds. The commonest weapon was the bow and arrow; but spears, snares, and nets were also used, and with the long blowgun the Aztecs became very skillful in bringing down birds. It is said that the hunter of water birds would cover his head with a large gourd and then float into a flock of them unsuspected.

"Young monkeys were caught by putting into a concealed fire a peculiar black stone which exploded when heated. Corn was scat-

[1] H. H. Bancroft, The Native Races of the Pacific States, Vol. II, p. 175.
[2] Ibid. p. 176.

tered about as a bait, and when the old monkeys brought their young to feed they were frightened by the explosion and ran away, leaving the young ones an easy prey. Crocodiles were taken with a noose around the neck, and also, by the boldest hunters, by inserting a stick sharpened and barbed at both ends in the animal's open mouth. It is probable that, while a small portion of the common people in certain parts of the country sought game for food alone, the chase was for the most part a diversion of the nobles and soldiers. There were also certain hunts established by law or custom at certain periods of the year, the products of which were devoted to sacrificial purposes, although most likely eaten eventually."[1]

On these hunts a forest would be surrounded by a line of hunters. At a signal they would move in toward the center, driving the animals before them into snares and traps that had been set. Those that attempted to escape were shot down with arrows. The game thus secured was carried into the neighboring cities and towns. Each hunter carried home the heads of the animals he had killed, and a prize was offered to the most successful one.

Fish was eaten more universally for food than was meat. However, except for the simple statement that the Aztecs used nets and hooks, tradition does not tell us more of their methods of fishing.

As far as we know, the Aztecs kept no herds or flocks, although there were royal collections of animals that included nearly every variety of quadrupeds, birds, and reptiles. The common people kept and bred a kind of native dog, turkeys, geese, ducks, and many other birds, and the nobles kept deer, hares, and rabbits.

Agriculture. When the Aztecs first settled in Mexico they lived on the islands in the lake. There was not a great deal of land, and so they invented floating gardens.

"They observed small portions of the shore, detached by the high water and held together by fibrous roots, floating about on the surface of the water. Acting on the suggestion, they constructed rafts of light wood, covered with small sticks, rushes, and reeds, bound together with fibrous, aquatic plants, and on this foundation they heaped two or three feet of black mud from the bottom of the lake. Thus the broad surface around their island home was dotted with fertile gardens, self-irrigated and independent of rains, easily removed

[1] H. H. Bancroft, The Native Races of the Pacific States, Vol. II, p. 351.

from place to place according to the fancy of the proprietor. They usually took the form of parallelograms and were often over a hundred feet long. All the agricultural production of the country, particularly maize, chile, and beans, were soon produced in abundance on the chinampas [floating gardens], while the larger ones even bore fruit and shade trees of considerable size, and a hut for the convenience of the owner, or gardener."[1]

When the Aztecs moved to the mainland they carried on an elaborate system of tillage there, so that by the time of the conquest few fertile spots remained uncultivated. The valleys were the favorite spots for the cornfields, but the highlands were cultivated as far as possible. The trees and bushes were cut down and burned, and the seed was planted among the ashes. After the crop was harvested the field was allowed to return to grass and bushes for several years, when again it was prepared for planting by burning over. As far as is known no other fertilizer except ashes was used.

The farmers had no laboring animals, and the implements used were very crude. They had a kind of oaken shovel or spade, also a copper implement with a wooden handle shaped something like a snake and used as a farmer today would use a hoe, and a copper sickle that was used for pruning fruit trees. But the implement most commonly employed was a sharp stick, the point of which was hardened in the fire or tipped with copper. In planting corn the farmer made a hole in the ground with this stick and put in a few kernels of corn, covering them over with his foot. The field was carefully weeded; and at a certain stage in the growth the stalks were supported by heaping up the soil around them. During the growing season a watchman was always in the fields to drive away the birds. If irrigation was necessary the water was diverted from rivers and streams into canals and ditches.

Dress. The men's main article of dress was the breechcloth. At first it was made of the fiber of the palm tree and the maguey, but later cotton was substituted. The breechcloth was about twenty-four feet long and nine inches wide, decorated at the ends with colored fringes and tassels. In putting it on, they passed the middle between the legs and then wound it around the hips with one end hanging down in front and the other in the back. Over their shoulders they

[1] H. H. Bancroft, The Native Races of the Pacific States, Vol. II, p. 346.

wore a mantle which was a piece of cloth about four feet long. If both shoulders were covered, the mantle was tied in front; if it was worn over one shoulder only, the knot was tied under the other arm. The nobles wore two or three of these mantles.

The women wore a kind of chemise with either no sleeves or very short ones. This garment was of cotton or of skins and extended to a little below the thighs. The lower part of the body was covered with a petticoat that reached halfway from the knees to the ankles. Out of doors a mantle was worn similar to the men's. On their feet they wore sandals made either of skins or of cotton cloth.[1]

Arts. The metals that were chiefly used in their arts were gold, silver, copper, tin, and lead (although we do not know where they obtained lead or for what they used it). Strange as it may seem they knew nothing about iron, one of the most abundant metals with which they were surrounded. As a substitute for iron they used an alloy of tin and copper, and with tools made of this bronze they could cut not only metals but, with the aid of a siliceous dust, the hardest substances, such as basalt, porphyry, amethysts, and emeralds.[2]

Most of their metals were obtained either from mines, which they opened in the side of the mountains, or from nuggets of gold and masses of native copper that were found on the surface of the ground in many places. A good deal of the gold was discovered in the sand in the beds of the rivers. The gold was kept in the form of dust in tubes or quills, or was melted in small pots by the aid of hollow bamboo blowpipes, used instead of bellows, and cast in small bars.

"Quicksilver, sulphur, alum, ochre and other minerals were collected to a certain extent and employed by the natives in the preparation of colors and for other purposes. . . . Such metals as they had they were most skillful in working, chiefly by melting and casting, and by carving, but also to some extent by the use of the hammer. We have no details of the means employed to melt the harder metals, beside the rude blow-pipe and furnace mentioned in connection with gold."[3]

The great skill of the Aztec metal workers was shown in their gold and silver vessels and ornaments; in fact, the Spaniards were so

[1] H. H. Bancroft, The Native Races of the Pacific States, Vol. II, pp. 365 ff.
[2] W. H. Prescott, Conquest of Mexico, Vol. I, p. 39.
[3] H. H. Bancroft, The Native Races of the Pacific States, Vol. II, p. 474.

struck by the beauty of many of these that instead of melting them down for the crude metal they sent them as they were for presents to the king and nobles of Spain. They were frank to admit that a good deal of the work was superior to that done by the Old World workers in gold and silver. The Aztecs imitated natural objects such as animals, birds, and fish, and it is said that Montezuma had in his collection a copy in gold and silver of nearly every animal in his kingdom. "Dr. Hernandez, the naturalist, in preparing a treatise on Mexican zoölogy for Philip II, is said to have supplied his want of real specimens of certain rare species by a resort to these imitations."[1]

Most Aztec implements were made of stone. All the harder kinds of stone found in the country, such as flint, porphyry, basalt, and obsidian, were pressed into use. From obsidian they obtained knives, razors, lancets, spearheads, and arrowheads by merely flaking a block of the stone.

AZTEC SACRIFICIAL KNIVES

Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York

"The maker held a round block of obsidian between his bare feet, pressed with his chest and hands on a long wooden instrument, one end of which was applied near the edge of the block, and thus split off knife after knife with great rapidity, which required only to be fitted to a wooden handle to be ready for use. The edge thus produced was at first as sharp as one of steel, but became blunted by slight use, when the instrument must be thrown away."[2]

The Aztecs were very skillful in working precious stones. They carved all sorts of animals and flowers from emeralds, amethysts, and turquoises by means of copper tools and sand. They also used pearls, mother of pearl, and bright-colored shells in their necklaces, brace-

[1] H. H. Bancroft, The Native Races of the Pacific States, Vol. II, p. 476.
[2] Ibid. p. 479.

lets, and earrings. Many of their articles of dress or armor were entirely studded with gems and were so beautiful that the Spaniards marveled at the skill displayed.

The better varieties of cloth were made of cotton or rabbit's hair, or a mixture of the two, but sometimes for such things as carpets or tapestry they wove feathers in with the cotton. For coarse cloth they used maguey fiber or the fiber from palm leaves. These were prepared as flax is in the other countries, by soaking in water, pounding, and drying. All the work in the process of making cloth was done by the women. The spindle used in spinning was like a top; it was set whirling in a shallow dish. The loom for weaving was a very crude affair and was not unlike those found among the less cultivated people to the north.

The art which stands out above all others and which shows the rare skill that the Aztecs possessed was the feather-mosaic. Thousands of tropical birds from the forests and the royal collections supplied the feathers. Some of the colors which only the rarest birds could furnish were obtained for ordinary work by dyeing the white plumage of more common birds.

To prepare for work the artist arranged the colored feathers in small earthen dishes within easy reach of his hand, stretched a piece of cloth on a board before him, and provided himself with a pot of glue and a pair of very delicate pincers.

"The design he wished to execute was first sketched roughly on the cloth, and then with the aid of the pincers feather after feather was taken from its dish and glued to the canvas. . . . Sometimes a whole day was consumed in properly choosing and adjusting one delicate feather, the artist patiently experimenting until the hue and position of the feather, viewed from different points and under different lights, became satisfactory to his eye. When a large piece of work was to be done, many workmen assembled, a part of the work was given to each, and so skillfully was the task performed that the parts rarely failed at the end to blend into an harmonious whole."[1]

Commerce. The Aztecs had no shops. All the buying and selling took place in the great market place.

"All kinds of food, animal and vegetable, cooked and uncooked, were arranged in the most attractive manner. . . . Here were to be

[1] H. H. Bancroft, The Native Races of the Pacific States, Vol. II, p. 489.

found all the native cloths and fabrics, in the piece and made up into garments coarse and fine, plain and elaborately embroidered, to suit the taste and means of purchasers, precious stones, and ornaments of metal feathers, or shells; implements and weapons of metal, stone, and wood, building material, lime, stone, wood, and brick; articles of household furniture, matting of various degrees of fineness; medicinal herbs and prepared medicines; wood and coal; incense and censers; cotton and cochineal, tanned skins; numerous beverages, and an infinite variety of pottery."[1]

Trade was usually carried on by means of barter, although regular purchase and sale were not uncommon. There was no regular coined money, but several more or less convenient substitutes were used. The Aztecs had transparent quills of gold dust so that the quantity could be seen; pieces of tin or copper were cut in a T form; and bags of cacao containing a specified number of grains were frequently used as mediums of exchange.[2]

The occupation of merchant, or trader, was one that was deeply respected throughout the whole of the Aztec territory. "These merchants were exempt from military and other public service, and had the right not only to make laws for the regulation of trade, but to punish even those who were not of their class for offenses against such laws."[3]

The merchants made their journeys to the remotest borders of the country, and even beyond, carrying with them merchandise of rich stuffs, jewelry, slaves, and other valuable commodities. They also carried presents from the king to the local chiefs, and in return received others and permission to trade. These friendly provinces, realizing the benefits resulting from such expeditions, built roads and kept them in repair, constructed bridges or furnished boats over the unfordable streams, and, at distances from the towns, placed houses for the merchants' reception. If, on the other hand, the local chiefs were unfriendly or offered any violence or indignity, the merchant had the means of resistance with him. Large armed groups traveled together and were so well provided against sudden hostility that they could defend themselves until help could arrive from home. At

[1] H. H. Bancroft, The Native Races of the Pacific States, Vol. II, p. 384.
[2] W. H. Prescott, Conquest of Mexico, Vol. I, p. 145.
[3] H. H. Bancroft, The Native Races of the Pacific States, Vol. II, p. 381.

night the camp was well guarded against sudden attacks from the numerous robber bands that infested the mountain passes and valleys.

Before the time of the Aztec supremacy trade was conducted with fairness, and commerce and politics were to a great extent kept separate; but with the rise of the Aztecs to power "their merchants instead of being peaceful, industrious, unassuming travelers became insolent and overbearing, meddling without scruple in the public affairs of the nations through whose territory they had to pass, and trusting to the dread of the armies of Mexico for their own safety; caravans became little less than armed bodies of robbers. The kings were ever ready to extend by war the field of their commerce, and to avenge by the hands of their warriors any insult, real or imaginary, offered to their merchants. The traveling bands of traders were instructed to prepare maps of countries traversed, to observe carefully their condition for defense, and their resources. If any province was reported rich and desirable its people were easily aggravated to commit some act of insolence which served as a pretext to lay waste their lands, and make them tributary to the kings." [1]

Cities and buildings. "Frequent wars and the generally unsettled state of the country, made it desirable that the towns should be situated near enough to each other to afford mutual protection, which accounts for the great number of towns scattered over the plateau. The same causes made a defensible position the primary object in the choice of a site. Thus we find them situated on rocks accessible only by a difficult and narrow pathway, raised on piles over the water, or surrounded by strong walls, palisades, earthworks and ditches. . . .

"The towns extended over a comparatively large surface, owing to the houses being low and detached, and each provided with a court and garden. The larger cities seem to have been laid out on a regular plan, especially in the center, but the streets were narrow; indeed there was no need of wider ones as all transportation was done by carriers, and there were no vehicles. At intervals a market place with a fountain in the center, a square filled with temples, or a line of shade trees relieved the monotony of the long row of low houses." [2]

The largest of the Aztec cities was Mexico Tenochtitlan, situated on the marshy shores of Mexico lake. It has been estimated that

[1] H. H. Bancroft, The Native Races of the Pacific States, Vol. II, p. 380.
[2] Ibid. p. 558.

the city was twelve miles in circumference and that there were sixty thousand houses and a population of about three hundred thousand. Owing to the position of the city, traffic was chiefly carried on by means of canals, the waters of which flowed through every part of the city. Along the sides of each canal were quays for the landing of goods and passengers, and at the mouth were small buildings which served as offices for the customhouse officials.

The streets of the city were paved with a smooth, hard crust of cement, and at night they were lighted by burning braziers placed at convenient intervals. A force of over a thousand men kept the canals in order and swept and sprinkled the streets many times a day. The water that was used in the city was brought by an aqueduct from a hill two miles distant. This aqueduct was constructed on a causeway of solid masonry five feet high and five feet broad. It consisted of two masonry pipes, each carrying a volume of water equal in bulk to a man's body. Branch pipes carried the water to various parts of the town to supply the fountains, tanks, parks, and baths.[1]

"The houses of the poorer classes were built of adobe, wood, cane, or reeds and stones, mixed with mud, well plastered and polished. . . . They were generally of an oblong shape, were divided into several apartments and occasionally had a gallery in front. They could not afford a central court, but had instead a flower or vegetable garden wherever space permitted. Terrace roofs were not uncommon in the towns, but more generally the houses of the poorer people were thatched with a kind of long thick grass, or with overlapping maguey-leaves."[2]

The houses of the nobles were usually built of stone, joined with fine cement and polished and whitewashed. One story was the commonest form, and there are no accounts of any building being over two. This may have been due to fear of the frequent earthquakes or to the soft character of the underlying ground around the lake. The central court of the building was surrounded by many porticoes that led to various chambers and halls lighted by large windows.

"Two great halls and several reception rooms were situated in front; the sleeping chambers, kitchen, baths, and storerooms were

[1] H. H. Bancroft, Native Races of the Pacific States, Vol. II, pp. 558–559.

[2] Ibid. pp. 573–574.

in the rear. . . . The court was paved with flags of stone, tesselated marble or hard cement, polished with ochre or gypsum, and usually contained a sparkling fountain; occasionally there was a flower garden, in which a pyramidal altar gave an air of sanctity to the place." [1]

In the interior of the house the floors were of hard, polished cement, the walls were painted and hung with cotton or feather tapestry, and there was not much furniture. "It consisted chiefly of soft mats and cushions of palm leaves or fur, low tables and small stools with palm-leaf backs. The beds were mats piled one upon the other, with a block or a palm-leaf, or cotton cushion for a pillow; occasionally they were furnished with coverlets and canopies of cotton or feather-work. Vases filled with smoldering incense diffused their perfume through the chambers. The rooms which were used in winter were provided with hearths and fire-screens, and were lighted by torches. There were no doors, properly called such, to the houses, but where privacy was required, a bamboo or wicker-work screen was suspended across the entrance, and secured at night with a bar." [2]

War. There were two chief causes of war: the first was to take captives for sacrifice to the gods; the second was to extend the Aztec territory. It was never very difficult to pick a quarrel and if a real cause could not be found one was invented.

"The refusal of a neighboring power to receive in its temple one of the Mexican gods, neglect to pay tribute demanded, insults offered to ambassadors or traveling merchants, or symptoms of rebellion in a city or a province, furnished sufficient pretext to take up arms. The rulers of Mexico, however, always endeavored to justify their conduct before they made war, and never commenced hostilities without sending due notice of their intention to the adversary." [3]

Among a people as warlike as the Aztecs it was natural that the profession of fighting was one of the most honorable in the whole kingdom. This was especially true among the later kings, whose ambition and passion for conquest could be satisfied only by their warriors. The god of war was the protector of the kingdom. He was glorified and honored above all other gods; his altars were forever running with human blood; and as the victims were always pris-

[1] H. H. Bancroft, The Native Races of the Pacific States, Vol. II, p. 571.
[2] Ibid. pp. 572–573. [3] Ibid. p. 420.

oners of war those who captured them received the highest honors — in fact, no positions or decorations under the government were given to any but approved soldiers.

"Children were taught by parent and priest the chivalrous deeds of their ancestors, whom they were urged to emulate in daring; titles, rewards and posts of honor were offered to stimulate the ambition of the young men. The king might not receive his crown until with his own hand he had taken captives to be sacrificed at the feast of his coronation. The priests were the foremost inciters to war and carnage. . . . The highest earthly rewards were in store for the victor, while the soul of him who fell in battle took immediate flight to heaven. Only defeat and cowardice were to be dreaded.

"The Aztec warrior's services were rewarded only by promotion, since no paid troops were employed. But promotion was sure to follow brilliant exploits performed even by the humblest soldier, while without such daring deeds the sons of the highest nobles could hope for no advancement. Dress and ornaments were the indications of rank, and were changed in some detail for every new achievement. To escape from the coarse nequen[1] garments of the common soldier, and to put on successively the decorative mantles of the higher grades, was deemed a sufficient reward and incentive. The costume of each warrior indicated the exact number of prisoners captured by the wearer."[2]

The dress of the higher warriors consisted of a vest of quilted cotton that was arrow-proof. Sometimes the wealthier chiefs wore a cuirass made of thin plates of gold or silver, and over this a coat of gorgeous featherwork. The helmets were of wood or silver with waving plumes and were decorated with precious stones or ornaments of gold.

For weapons the Aztecs had bows and arrows, slings, clubs, spears, light javelins, and swords. They never used poison on their arrows, for such warfare would have defeated the purpose of war; namely, taking prisoners alive.

When war was decided upon, the Aztecs sent spies to the country to determine the resources, to prepare maps showing the rivers,

[1] A coarse white stuff made from the threads of the aloe.

[2] H. H. Bancroft, The Native Races of the Pacific States, Vol. II, p. 401; W. H. Prescott, Conquest of Mexico, Vol. I, pp. 43 ff.

plains, mountains, and passes, and to find out the means of protection possessed by the enemy. The reward for this information was a piece of land.

The army was divided into groups of eight thousand men, and these, in turn, into companies of three or four hundred each with its own commander.

When the territory of the enemy was reached, if the king was present he gave the signal to begin fighting by blowing on a large shell-like trumpet. The men rushed to the fight amid the shrieking of musical instruments, the clash of swords against shields, yelling their war cries so that the noise was enough to strike terror in the hearts of those who had never fought before.

"In fighting there appears to have been no special tactics; the commanders of the divisions and the captains used every effort to keep their men together, and were very careful to protect the standard, as, if that was taken, the battle was considered lost and all fled. They observed the wise policy of keeping a number of men in reserve to replace any who were wearied or had exhausted their weapons. The archers, slingers, and javelin men commenced the action at a distance and gradually drew nearer, until they came to close quarters, when they took to their swords and spears. All movements, both in advance and retreat, were rapidly executed. Sometimes a retreat was feigned in order to draw the enemy into an ambuscade which had been prepared beforehand. The chief object was to take prisoners and not to slay; when an enemy refused to surrender, they endeavored to wound them in the foot or leg so as to prevent escape, but they never accepted a ransom for a prisoner. Certain men were attached to the army whose duty it was to remove the killed and wounded during the action, so that the enemy might not know the losses and take fresh heart."[1]

"When the king or a feudatory lord captured a prisoner for the first time, his success was made the occasion of much rejoicing. The captive, dressed in showy apparel and mounted on a litter, was borne to the town in great triumph, accompanied by a host of warriors shouting and singing; at the outskirts of the city the procession was met by the inhabitants, some playing on musical instruments, others dancing and singing songs composed for the occasion. The prisoner

[1] H. H. Bancroft, The Native Races of the Pacific States, Vol. II, p. 426.

was saluted with mimic honors, and his captor greatly extolled and congratulated. Numbers of people arrived from the adjoining towns and villages to assist in the general hilarity, bringing with them presents of gold, jewels, and rich dresses. Upon the day appointed for the sacrifice a grand festival was held, previous to and after which the lord fasted and performed certain prescribed ceremonies. The victim was usually dressed for the occasion in the robes of the god of the sun and sacrificed in the usual manner.[1] With some of the blood that flowed, the priest sprinkled the four sides of the temple; the remainder was collected in a vessel and sent to the noble captor, who with it sprinkled all the gods in the courtyard of the temple, as a thank-offering for the victory he had gained. After the heart was taken out, the body was rolled down the steps and received below; the head was then cut off and placed upon a high pole. Afterwards the body was flayed, and the skin stuffed with cotton and hung up in the captor's house as a memento of his prowess."[2]

[1] See page 388.

[2] H. H. Bancroft, The Native Races of the Pacific States, Vol. II, pp. 428–429.

CHAPTER XXI

AZTECS (Concluded)

Marriage. The marrying age was much later among the Aztecs than among a good many other early peoples. Men were not married until they had reached the age of twenty to twenty-two, but girls were married from eleven to eighteen. Unions were not permitted between blood relations nor between those descended from a common ancestor. When a youth reached marriageable age he or his parents asked permission of his teacher, who was usually the priest; but if he ran away and was married without their consent he had to undergo penance and was looked upon as ungrateful and ill-bred. Frequently the high priest ordered him to marry when he reached the proper age; if he refused, he was obliged to remain continent through life and to dedicate himself to the service of the gods. If, later, he wanted to marry he was despised by all his friends and publicly denounced as infamous, inasmuch as he had shown himself to be devoid of firmness and unable to keep the vow to which he had voluntarily bound himself.

"When the time came for the parents to choose a wife for their son, all the relations were called together, and informed by the father that the youth had now reached an age when he should be provided with a wife. . . . The youth was then summoned before his parents, and his father addressed him, saying: 'My son, thou art now a man, and it seems to us proper to search among the maidens for a wife for thee. Ask thy tutors for permission to separate thyself from thy friends, the youths with whom thou hast been educated.'"[1]

The youth expressed his willingness, whereupon the parents prepared a feast to which were invited all the relatives of the boy and his instructors.

After the meal was eaten, one of the youth's relations told the priestly instructors why they were summoned and asked permission for the marriage. This, of course, was always granted. The tutor of

[1] H. H. Bancroft, The Native Races of the Pacific States, Vol. II, p. 252.

the youth then addressed him, telling him "to persevere in the paths of virtue, not to forget the teachings he had received, and to continue to be a zealous servant of the gods; he advised him that as he was now about to take a wife he must be careful to provide for her support"[1] and to educate his children.

The next step was for the parents to meet with the other relations to decide on a girl. The astrologers were called in to determine whether the signs were favorable or not; if they found them so, steps were taken to get the consent of the girl's parents. Two old women were sent as negotiators, bringing with them presents from the boy's parents. Negotiations were carried on for several days if the girl's parents were favorably inclined. The details were discussed and more presents were exchanged. Finally the girl was called to a meeting of all her relatives, when the matter was gone over in detail, her duties as a wife were defined, and she was charged to serve and please her husband.

Before the wedding day, which had been selected by the astrologers, the time was spent in issuing invitations to friends and relatives, in preparing the feast, and in decorating with garlands of flowers the house of the bridegroom's parents, where the ceremony was to take place. When all was in readiness, friends of the groom went to the house of the bride to conduct her to the ceremony.

"The bridegroom met his betrothed at the entrance of his house, preceded by four women bearing lighted torches; in his hands he carried a censer with burning incense, and another was given to the bride. With these they at once perfumed each other, and the groom, taking her by the hand, led her into the room prepared for the ceremony."[2]

They were seated upon a mat spread close to the fireplace. The bridegroom's mother then presented numerous garments to the bride, and the bride's mother gave presents to the groom. The priest next gave a long address to the couple, in which he defined the duties of married life and told them how they should bring up their children. They were told to be faithful to one another, to keep peace and harmony in the family, to overlook each other's failings, and to remember that they were united for life by a tie which only death could sever.

[1] H. H. Bancroft, The Native Races of the Pacific States, Vol. II, p. 253.
[2] Ibid. p. 256.

"At the conclusion of the address the couple stood up, and the priest tied the end of the man's mantle to the dress of the woman. They then walked seven times around the fire, casting therein copal and incense, and giving presents to each other, while their friends and relatives threw chains of flowers around their necks and covered them with garlands. The mother-in-law of the bride now brought some food and gave four mouthfuls to the bride to eat and afterwards gave the same quantity to the bridegroom. They then received the congratulations of their friends, while at the same time a dance was performed to the sound of musical instruments."[1]

Accompanied by the dancers and musicians, the newly wedded pair were conducted to the temple door, where they were received by the priests. The young couple and their parents entered the building, the rest remained outside. The priest led them to the altar of the idol, where prayers were said. He then placed over their shoulders beautiful shawls in the middle of which were painted skeletons as a symbol that only death could separate them. After perfuming them with the censers, he led them back to the door of the temple, where they were received by their friends, who took them home for the banquet. But the young couple could take no part in the feasting and dancing. For four days they remained in seclusion fasting and praying under the close guard of an old woman.

Polygamy was permitted, although it was probably confined to the nobles and men of wealth.[2] The first wife was always the chief one, and the others were little better than concubines. With them the tying of the garments was the only ceremony; but the husband could not divorce them without just cause and the permission of the courts, and in no case could they or their children inherit property.

A man could divorce his wife, but it was not a common practice. When a couple decided that they could not live together peaceably, or if one had a just cause of complaint against the other, they brought their case before a judge. He investigated carefully and did not grant permission to separate unless he found good and sufficient reason. But before allowing the divorce he used his best efforts to secure reconciliation, reminding the couple of the solemn obligation they had taken on themselves at the altar of the idol and pointing out

[1] H. H. Bancroft, The Native Races of the Pacific States, Vol. II, p. 257.
[2] W. H. Prescott, Conquest of Mexico, Vol. I, p. 151.

the public disgrace it would be for their parents. Sometimes the judges, after investigation, refused to issue the decree and dismissed them with a stern reproval.

Children. Before a child was born a feast was held to which were invited all those friends and relatives who had been present at the wedding. Long speeches were given in which the parents were congratulated and the young couple were told how to look after the child.

During the period preceding birth the mother was obliged to do certain things and to avoid others that the child might be normal in every way. But most of these things, such as not sleeping in the daytime so that the child's face might not be contorted, and not eating certain foods so that the child's palate might not be hard, were of a superstitious nature and had no practical value.

During the time of birth the mother was carefully tended, at least among the wealthy and nobles. Everything was done for her so that she should suffer as little as possible. When the child was born, those in attendance washed it, meantime muttering prayers and whispering in its ear words of welcome and admonition. They also praised the mother for her bravery and fortitude.

The ceremony of baptism was held at some auspicious time, determined upon by the astrologers. A great feast was held to which the friends were invited. The child was placed on a pile of leaves in the courtyard and was surrounded by the insignia of its father's trade or profession, such as bows and arrows or agricultural tools, or, if a girl, by a spindle and distaff. Those who had assisted at its birth next touched various parts of the body with water, at the same time muttering prayers asking the gods to protect it from evil and to make it strong and well. A name was now given to it, taken either from the sign of the day or from a bird or an animal, if it was a boy; or from the name of a flower, if it was a girl. The child was now called upon three times by its new name and admonished to make good use of the weapons or implements that had been placed in its tiny hands. After this it was taken to its cradle in the house, when further prayers were said. This baptismal feast often lasted twenty days if the parents were wealthy, and during all this time there was much rejoicing, and many presents were given and received.

Education. The education of the child was begun by its parents as soon as it was able to walk, and later was finished by the priests.

"Aside from the superstitious and idolatrous flavor with which everything Aztec was more or less tainted, the care taken to mould aright the minds of the youth of both sexes is worthy of admiration. Both parents and priests strenuously endeavored to inspire their pupils with a horror of vice and a love of truth. Respect for their elders and modesty in their actions was one of their first lessons, and lying was severely punished."[1]

The schools for boys were of two classes: those for the children of the common people and those for the children of noble birth. The schools for the common children were situated in the various quarters of the city. The parents were expected to enter the boys when they were four or five years old. There they were "instructed how to sweep the sanctuary, to replenish the fire in the sacred censers, to clean the schoolhouse, to do penance more or less severe according to their age, to go in parties to the forest to gather wood for the temples. Each pupil took his meals at the house of his parents, but all were obliged to sleep in the seminary. At nightfall all assembled in the 'house of song' and were there taught the arts of singing and dancing, which formed part of a Mexican education; they were also exercised here in the use of arms."[2] At the age of fifteen or sixteen the boys were withdrawn in order that they might follow a trade or profession.

In the schools for the nobility the boys did not do as much manual labor as those in the common schools, nor did they take their meals at home. They were "instructed in all that the plebeians learned, besides many of the arts and sciences, such as the study of heroic songs and sacred hymns, which they had to learn by heart, history, religion, philosophy, law, astronomy, astrology and the writing and interpreting of hieroglyphics. If not quick and diligent they were given less food and more work; they were admonished to be virtuous and chaste, and were not allowed to leave the temple, until with their father's permission they went out from it to be married, or, in the case of a youth of strength and courage, to go to the wars; those who showed qualities fitted for a military life were exercised in gymnastics and trained to the use of weapons, to shoot with the bow, manage the shield, and to cast darts at a mark. Their courage,

[1] H. H. Bancroft, The Native Races of the Pacific States, Vol. II, p. 240.
[2] Ibid. p. 244.

strength, and endurance underwent severe tests; they were early afforded opportunities of realizing the hardships of camp life, and, while boys, were sent to carry provisions to the soldiers, upon which occasions their behavior was closely watched, and a display of courage met with a suitable promotion or reward."[1]

Connected with the temple were large girls' seminaries, which were under the supervision of the priestesses. The building was guarded by old men to prevent the boys and girls from meeting; and if any girl left her apartment without a guard, the soles of her feet were pricked with thorns until the blood flowed. When they went out they were always accompanied by priestesses; and if during these walks they raised their eyes or in any way noticed anyone, they were severely punished.

"The maidens had to sweep out those precincts of the temple occupied by them and attend to the sacred fire; they were taught the tenets of their religion and shown how to draw blood from their bodies when offering sacrifice to the gods. They also learned how to make feather-work, and to spin and weave mantles; particular attention was given to their personal cleanliness; they were obliged to bathe frequently, and to be skillful and diligent in all household affairs. They were taught to speak with reverence, to humble themselves in the presence of their elders, and to observe a modest and bashful demeanor at all times. They rose at day-break, and whenever they showed themselves idle or rude, punishment was inflicted. At night the pupils slept in large rooms in sight of the matrons, who watched them closely. The daughters of the nobles who entered the seminaries at an early age, remained there until taken away by their parents to marry."[2]

Pleasures. The Aztecs, from the king to the lowest peasant, were fond of feasts and amusements of all kinds. Every event, such as a birthday, a housewarming, or a successful journey, was celebrated by a feast. Such a feast meant the distribution of costly presents to the guests, and often a man would impoverish himself for life or even sell himself to slavery that he might give one entertainment

[1] H. H. Bancroft, The Native Races of the Pacific States, Vol. II, p. 244; W. H. Prescott, Conquest of Mexico, Vol. I, pp. 169–170.

[2] H. H. Bancroft, The Native Races of the Pacific States, Vol. II, p. 245; W. H. Prescott, Conquest of Mexico, Vol. I, pp. 69–70.

which would immortalize his memory. "Moreover, the priests . . . took advantage of this disposition to ordain long and frequent celebrations in honor of innumerable gods; in short, it is difficult to conceive what part of the year could have been saved for business from what seems to have been a continual round of merry-making . . .

"The grandeur of the feast depended, of course, upon the wealth of the host, the rank of the guests, and the importance of the event celebrated. For many days before a noble or wealthy man entertained his friends, an army of servants were employed in sweeping the approaches to the house, decorating the halls and courts with branches and garlands, erecting arbors, and strewing the floors with flowers and sweet herbs; others prepared the table service, killed and dressed the dogs, plucked fowls, cooked tamales, baked bread, ground cacao, brewed drinks, and manufactured perfumed cigarettes."[1]

When the guests arrived they were greeted by their host and presented with flowers. Before dinner they wandered about the grounds and buildings admiring the decorations. After the elaborate meal tobacco was passed, and the guests enjoyed its fragrant smoke while professional entertainers sang and danced.

"Dwarfs, deformed beings, and curious objects were also introduced to vary the entertainment, but the professional jesters were the favorites, and the jokes made by them raised many a laugh, though this was rather forced perhaps by those at whose expense said jokes were cracked, for these fools were fully as privileged as their contemporary European brothers of motley, and sometimes spoke very biting truths in the shape of jest."[2]

Dancing was one of the favorite Aztec amusements, and frequently thousands would engage in this pleasure at one time. One of these big dances took place either in the plaza or in the courtyard of the temple, in the center of which were spread the mats for the musicians.

"The nobles and aged men formed a circle nearest to the drums, the people of less importance formed a circle a little distance behind, and the young people composed a third ring. Two leading dancers directed the movements; and whatever steps they made were imitated by the performers. When all was ready, a whistle gave the signal and the drums were beaten lightly to a well-known tune started

[1] H. H. Bancroft, The Native Races of the Pacific States, Vol. II, p. 284.
[2] Ibid. pp. 285–286.

by the leaders and taken up by the dancers, who at the same time began to move their feet, arms, heads and bodies in perfect accord. Each verse or couplet was repeated three or four times, the dancers keeping time with their rattles. Each must keep his relative position in the circle, and complete the circuit at the same time; the inner circle, therefore, moved at a slow, dignified pace, suited to the rank and age of the men composing it; the second proceeded somewhat faster, while the dancers in the outer circle approached a run as the dance became livelier. . . . When one set of dancers became tired, another took its place, and so the dance continued through the whole day, each song taking about an hour. Jesters and clowns in various disguises circulated between the lines, cutting capers, cracking jokes and serving refreshments."[1]

The drama usually took the form of burlesques. There was no special theater building, and so the lower porch of the temple was used or a stage was erected in the plaza.

"Here the people congregated after dinner on gala-days to witness the performance, in which deaf, lame, blind, deformed or sick people, or sometimes, merchants, mechanics, or prominent citizens, were mimicked, burlesqued, and made fun of. Each actor endeavored to represent his rôle in the most grotesque manner possible. He who was for the moment deaf gave nonsensical answers to questions put to him; the sick man depicted the effects of pain, and so forth. When these had exhausted their stock of jokes, others entered as beetles, frogs, or lizards, croaking, whistling and skipping about the stage after the manner of the creatures they represented. The boys from the temple also appeared as birds and butterflies, and flocked into the trees in the courtyard. Each performer rehearsed his part before appearing in public, and great care was taken that no blunder should mar the beauty of the plot. The priests added to the fun by blowing mud-balls at the actors through wooden tubes, and praising or censuring the performance in a jocular manner. The entertainment concluded with a ball, which was attended by all the actors."[2]

Music did not play an important part on the stage of the Aztecs, and although we hear of singers appearing, yet there is no mention

[1] H. H. Bancroft, The Native Races of the Pacific States, Vol. II, pp. 288–289.
[2] Ibid. pp. 291–292.

of instrumental concerts. But apart from the drama, music played an important part in the lives of the people.

The principal musical instruments were drums, horns, shells, trumpets, and shrill whistles made from cleft bones. Of these the drum was the favorite, and the beating of several in accord served as the accompaniment for the song and the dance. There were two kinds of drums: one was a hollow cylinder of wood about three feet high and a foot and a half in diameter, carried at the upper end by the dressed skin of a deer, and played upon with the hands. The other "was entirely of wood and had no opening but two parallel slits on one side, the enclosed piece being divided in the center so as to form two tongues, each of which increased in thickness towards its extremity. The drum was placed in a horizontal position and the sound was produced by beating on the tongues with sticks tipped with rubber balls."[1]

"The ancient writers unite in praising the perfect unison and good time observed by the singers, both in solo and quartette, with chorus and responses, and they mention particularly the little boys of from four to eight years of age, who rendered the soprano in a manner that reflected great credit on the training of their priestly tutors. Each temple and many noblemen kept clowns and bands of professional musicians, usually led by a priest, who composed odes appropriate to every occasion, and set them to music. Bass singers were rare, and were prized in proportion to their rarity. They had a great number of popular songs or ballads, which were known in all classes."[2]

The national game of the Aztecs resembled modern soccer football. The ground on which it was played was a hundred feet long and fifty feet wide, inclosed by a smooth wall from nine to twelve feet high on the sides and somewhat lower at the ends. The game was played by two or three men on a side using a hand India-rubber ball about three or four inches in diameter. The players wore breechcloths and sometimes skins to protect the parts coming in contact with the ball.

"The rule was to hit the ball only with knee, elbow, shoulder, or buttock, as agreed upon, the latter was, however, the favorite way, and to touch the wall of the opposite side with the ball, or to send

[1] H. H. Bancroft, The Native Races of the Pacific States, p. 293.
[2] Ibid. pp. 293–294.

it over, either of which counted a point. He who struck the ball with his hand or foot, or with any part of his body not previously agreed upon, lost a point; to settle such matters without dispute a priest acted as referee. On each side-wall, equidistant from the ends, was a large stone, carved with images of idols, pierced through the center with a hole large enough just to admit the passages of the ball; the player who by chance or skill drove the ball through one of these openings not only won the game for his side, but was entitled to the cloaks of all present, and the haste with which the spectators scrambled off in order to save their garments is said to have been the most amusing part of the entertainment. A feat so difficult was, of course, rarely accomplished, save by chance, and the successful player was made as much of as a prize winner at the Olympic games, nor did he omit to present thank offerings to the gods of the game for the good fortune vouchsafed him."[1] This game was so popular that certain towns gave in taxes sixteen thousand balls, most towns of any size had special playing fields, and the king had professional teams to play for him.

Religion. "In contemplating the religious system of the Aztecs, one is struck with its apparent incongruity, as if some portion of it had emanated from a comparatively refined people, open to gentle influences, while the rest breathes a spirit of unmitigated ferocity. It naturally suggests the idea of two distinct sources and authorizes the belief that the Aztecs had inherited from their predecessors a milder faith, on which was afterwards engrafted their own mythology. The latter soon became dominant, and gave its dark coloring to the creeds of the conquered nations."[2]

Theirs was a system of polytheism. There were thirteen principal deities and more than two hundred lesser ones, who presided over the elements, the changes of the seasons, and the various occupations of man, and to each of whom some special day or appropriate feast was dedicated.

The supreme invisible god was Teotl. He was thought of as the creator of the universe; but as he was so high above the common people, there were no prayers, offerings, feasts, or temples in his honor. Little is told about him by the early writers other than the vague

[1] H. H. Bancroft, The Native Races of the Pacific States, Vol. II, pp. 298–299.
[2] W. H. Prescott, Conquest of Mexico, Vol. I, pp. 56–57.

idea that the people recognized him, but certainly he played little or no part in their religious life.

At the head of all the gods worshiped by the Aztecs and in whose honor a temple was built was Huitzilopochtli, who presided over war. According to the legend, his mother, Coatlicue, was one day walking in the temple when she saw a little ball of feathers floating in the air. She took this and put it in her bosom, but when she reached home she could not find it. Soon after she found herself pregnant. Her children, fearful of the dishonor to their house, sought to kill her; but suddenly the god was born, fully grown and carrying a shield and spear. He immediately killed all the children who were threatening his mother. This god became the protector of the Aztecs and led them from one victory to another. In his honor the great temple was built, and there his gigantic statue was placed. It was loaded with costly ornaments and jewels. His altar ran red with the blood of a thousand human sacrifices.[1]

AN AZTEC IDOL

Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York

"A far more interesting personage in their mythology was Quetzalcoatl, god of the air, a divinity who, during his residence on earth, instructed the natives in the use of metals, in agriculture, and in the arts of government." [2]

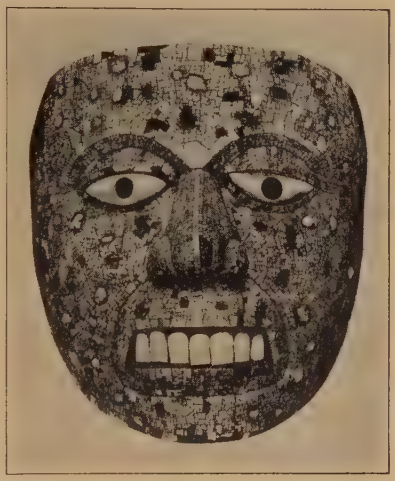
"He is described as having been white, — a large, broad-browed, great-eyed man, with long black hair and thick beard. His life was rigidly temperate, and his industry was directed by the profoundest wisdom. He amassed great treasure, and his was the invention of

[1] H. H. Bancroft, The Native Races of the Pacific States, Vol. III, pp. 289–290; W. H. Prescott, Conquest of Mexico, Vol. I, p. 58.

[2] W. H. Prescott, Conquest of Mexico, Vol. I, p. 59.

gem-cutting and of metal-casting. All things prospered in his time. One ear of corn was a man's load, and the gourds, or pumpkins, of the day were as tall as one's body. No one dyed cotton then, for it grew of all colors, and all other things in like manner were perfect and abundant."[1]

Temples. The temples of the gods were very numerous. Frequently there would be several hundred of them in a single city. The celebrated temple to Huitzilopochtli will be described as a good example of this type of Aztec architecture.



A MASK ORNAMENTED WITH TURQUOISE MOSAIC REPRESENTING THE GOD QUETZALCOATL

Courtesy of the British Museum

"A square wall about four thousand eight hundred feet in circumference, from eight to nine feet in height and of great thickness, with its sides facing the cardinal points, formed the courtyard of the temple. It was built of stones and lime, plastered and polished. . . . At the center of each wall stood a large two-story building, divided into a number of rooms, in which the military stores and weapons were kept. . . . In the center [of the court] stood the great temple, an oblong, parallelogramic pyramid, about three hundred and seventy-five feet long and three hundred feet broad at the base, three hundred and twenty-five by two hundred and fifty at the summit, and rising in five superimposed, perpendicular terraces to the height of eighty-six feet."[2]

"The ascent was by a flight of steps, at an angle of the pyramid, on the outside. This led to a sort of terrace, or gallery, at the base of the second story, which passed quite around the building to another flight of stairs, commencing also at the same angle as the preceding and directly over it, and leading to a similar terrace; so that

[1] H. H. Bancroft, The Native Races of the Pacific States, Vol. III, p. 260.
[2] Ibid. Vol. II, pp. 577 ff.

one had to make the circuit of the temple several times, before reaching the summit."[1]

One reason at least for these circular stairs was to enable all the populace gathered in the temple court to see the priests in their gorgeous robes as they ascended to the sacrificial platform on the top. On this platform were the sanctuaries of Huitzilopochtli and his half-brother Tezcatlipoca.

"The gigantic images of these gods rested upon large stone altars three to four feet high, their monstrous grandeur shielded from the vulgar gaze of the multitude by rich curtains hung with tassels and golden pellets like bells, which rattled as the hangings moved. Before the altar stood the terrible stone of sacrifice, a green block about five feet in length, and three in breadth and height, rising in a ridge on the top so as to bend the body of the victim upwards and allow the easy extraction of the heart." [2]

There also stood before each chapel a stone about five or six feet high on which fire was kept continually burning by virgins and priests; for, like the fire in the temple of Vesta, it was thought that great disaster would follow should it be extinguished.

Priests. "The sacerdotal order was very numerous; as may be inferred from the statement that five thousand priests were, in some way or other, attached to the principal temple in the capital. The various ranks and functions of this multitudinous body were discriminated with great exactness. Those best instructed in music took the management of the chorus. Others arranged the festivals conformable to the calendar. Some superintended the education of youth, and others had charge of the hieroglyphical paintings and oral traditions; while the dismal rites of sacrifice were reserved for the chief dignitaries of the order. At the head of the whole establishment were two high priests, elected from the order, as it would seem, by the king and principal nobles without reference to birth, but solely for their qualifications, as shown by their previous conduct in a subordinate station. They were equal in dignity, and inferior only to the sovereign, who rarely acted without their advice in weighty matters of public concern.

"The priests were each devoted to the service of some particular

[1] W. H. Prescott, Conquest of Mexico, Vol. I, p. 72.

[2] H. H. Bancroft, The Native Races of the Pacific States, Vol. II, p. 582.

deity, and had quarters provided within the spacious precincts of their temple; at least, while engaged in immediate attendance there, — for they were allowed to marry, and have families of their own. In this monastic residence they lived in all the stern severity of conventual discipline. Thrice during the day and once at night, they were called to prayers. They were frequent in their ablutions and vigils, and mortified the flesh by fasting and cruel penance, — drawing blood from their bodies by flagellation, or by piercing them with the thorns of the aloe; in short, by practising all those austerities to which fanaticism . . . has resorted.

"The great cities were divided into districts, placed under the charge of a sort of parochial clergy, who regulated every act of religion within their precincts. It is remarkable that they administered the rites of confession and absolution. The secrets of the confessional were held inviolable, and penances were imposed of much the same kind as those enjoined in the Roman Catholic Church. There were two remarkable peculiarities in the Aztec ceremony. The first was, that, as the repetition of an offense, once atoned for, was deemed inexpiable, confession was made but once in a man's life, and was usually deferred to a late period of it, when the penitent unburdened his conscience, and settled, at once, the long arrears of iniquity. Another peculiarity was, that priestly absolution was received in place of the legal punishment of offences, and authorized an acquittal in case of arrest. Long after the Conquest, the simple natives, when they came under the arm of the law, sought to escape by producing the certificate of their confession."[1]

Attached to most temples was a group of priestesses whose duties consisted in keeping the sacred fires burning, weaving and embroidering tapestry and ornamental work for the temple, and numerous other things necessary for the worship of the gods. Should one of them violate her vows of chastity, she was immediately put to death.

Religious ceremonies. The Aztecs were a very religious people; that is, in the sense that they were constant in their attendance at the temples. Nearly every day in the year was set aside for the worship of some particular deity. Some of their ceremonies were light and happy and consisted of songs and dances. Processions were held in which women and children, flower-crowned, bore in their hands

[1] W. H. Prescott, Conquest of Mexico, Vol. I, pp. 66 ff.

gifts of fruit, maize, and sweet incense to be placed on the altars of the gods. No blood other than that of animals was spilled in sacrifice. But how different were most of their ceremonials, when the altars ran red with the blood of human victims! These latter rites were too numerous to be described in detail, and so only a few typical ones will be given.

On the day of the festival great masses of the people assembled in the temple court. At the appointed hour the priestly procession, leading their captives, who had been stripped of all clothing, slowly wended its way up the long staircase of the temple. At the top the high priest, clothed in red, and his five assistants, dressed in white, met the procession. The first victim was led to the sacrificial stone. There he was seized by the grim and merciless priests and thrown prostrate on his back — two holding his legs, two his feet, and the fifth his head. The high priest drew near, the stone knife was lifted and plunged into the breast of the man. There was one great cry of agony, a shuffle of feet as the assistants were swayed to and fro by the death struggles of the victim, then all was silent save the muttering of the high priest as he plunged his hand into the wound and tore out the palpitating heart. This he held up on high and then cast at the feet of the deity to whom the temple was dedicated. Sometimes the heart was placed in the mouth of the idol with a golden spoon and its lips were anointed with the blood. Below was the hum of adoration from the thousands of upturned faces. One after another of the victims[1] would be sacrificed in this way until the priests, the altars, in fact the entire platform, were dripping with human blood. In each case the still quivering bodies were cast down the temple steps and then delivered to the warriors who had taken them in battle. In joyful procession the bodies were carried to the homes of the warriors and there eaten at a great feast.[2]

At the feast of the "maturity of fruit" those who had captives to offer brought them to the temple.

"At a certain signal each owner seized his captive by the hair and dragged or led him to the foot of the temple steps. Thereupon those

[1] The best authorities state that at least ten thousand victims were yearly slaughtered in the capital. — W. H. Prescott, Conquest of Mexico, Vol. I, p. 79 (note).

[2] H. H. Bancroft, The Native Races of the Pacific States, Vol. II, pp. 307 ff.; W. H. Prescott, Conquest of Mexico, Vol. I, pp. 75 ff.

priests who were appointed to execute the fearful sacrifice descended from the temple each bearing in his hand a bag filled with certain stupefying powder extracted from the *yiauhtli* plant, which they threw into the faces of the victims to deaden somewhat the agony before them. Each naked and bound captive was then borne upon the shoulders of a priest up to the summit of the temple, where smouldered a great heap of glowing coal. Into this the bearers cast their living burdens, and when the cloud of dust was blown off the dull red mass could be seen to heave, human forms could be seen writhing and twisting in agony, the crackling of flesh could be distinctly heard. But the wretches were not to die by fire; in a few moments, and before life was extinct, the blackened and blistered wretches were raked out by the watching priests, cast one after another on the stone of sacrifice, and in a few moments all that remained upon the summit of the temple was a heap of human hearts smoking at the feet of the god of fire."[1]

The god Tezcatlipoca was thought of as "the soul of the world" and was pictured as a handsome man endowed with perpetual youth. A year before the sacrifice in his honor a captive youth of splendid physique and beauty was chosen to be his representative on earth. Tutors instructed him how to perform his new rôle with grace and dignity. He lived on the fat of the land, he was dressed in the finest clothes and covered with jewels, he was escorted by eight pages wherever he went, and when he appeared on the streets the people prostrated themselves before him. During the last month great celebrations were held in his honor, and he was allowed to have anything he wanted in the kingdom. On the day of the sacrifice he was transported across the lake on one of the royal barges to the temple of the god. "Hither the inhabitants of the capital flocked to witness the consummation of the ceremony. As the sad procession wound up the sides of the pyramid, the unhappy victim threw away his gay chaplet of flowers, and broke in pieces the musical instruments with which he had solaced the hours of captivity."[2] On the summit he was received by the priests and sacrificed in the usual manner.

Death. The Aztecs were very careful about the disposal of the dead, and their funeral rites were conducted with the same elabo-

[1] H. H. Bancroft, The Native Races of the Pacific States, Vol. II, pp. 329–330.
[2] W. H. Prescott, Conquest of Mexico, Vol. I, p. 76.

rateness that characterized all their ceremonials. Those for the king were especially imposing; but as they differed only in degree from those of the lesser nobles, a fairly detailed description will be given.

When it became evident that the king was dying, notice was sent to all the nobles to attend the obsequies. When the king finally died, certain old men who were connected with the priesthood were called to prepare the body. It was washed with sweet-smelling water, and the bowels were taken out and replaced by aromatic substances. When the guests had arrived, the body was dressed in as many as fifteen or twenty royal mantles. Water was poured over the head, and bunches of paper were placed beside the remains. These latter were passports through the mountains, by the animals, and across the deserts. A little red dog was then killed and placed by the king to guide him across the waters. The body was placed either on a litter or seated on the throne, so that all might see it. The princes and nobles then approached with every evidence of grief. Speeches were made to the defunct, referring to his present happiness and to the loss his departure had caused. Early on the fifth day the nobles bore the body on a state litter, from the palace to the temple. Leading the procession were the priests, who wafted incense and sang the king's praises, and then came the rest of the nobles, carrying articles to be offered on the pyre. When the cortege reached the temple courtyard the priests who were to take charge of the burning came forward to receive it. They chanted a song in which they reminded the mourners that as they were carrying a dead body to its last resting place, so they, in turn, would some day be carried. They also told them that good deeds were the only things that really lasted and that all else was vain. The corpse was now carried to the funeral pyre, where it was laid in full array, together with the dog. As the flames shot up, the mourners heaped upon it the gifts they had brought.

The slaves and deformed persons who were to follow the king into the next world were now brought forward for the sacrifice. Sometimes as many as three hundred victims would be put to death. A relative of the king told them of the happiness that was in store for them in the next world and admonished them to serve their master as faithfully as they had done here. They were then turned over to the priests who cut open the breast, tore the heart out, and threw it on the blazing pyre. The bodies were burned on another blazing

hearth. When the body of the king was entirely consumed, the fire was extinguished with the blood of the slaves. The ashes were collected in a casket and deposited at the feet of the gods. When the procession returned to the palace a great banquet was given. For four days the mourners went constantly to the temple with gifts of food, clothes, and jewels, which they placed beside the casket. The ceremonies ended with the sacrifice of ten or fifteen slaves and the interring of the ashes of the king in a part of the temple set aside for their permanent reception.[1]

"The obsequies of the subjects were, of course, on a scale of much less grandeur, though the rich and nobles ventured to exhibit a certain pomp. The common man, after having been washed in aromatic waters, was dressed in his best garments; a cheap stone . . . was inserted between the lips; the passport papers for the dark journey were handed to him with the usual address; and by his side were placed the water and the dog, the insignia of his trade, as arms, spade, or the like . . . with the dresses and other things required for comfort. Lastly the mantle of the god which his condition in life and manner of death rendered appropriate, was placed upon him. . . . A drunkard would, in addition, be covered with the robe of the god of wine; a person who had died by drowning, with that of the water gods; the man executed for adultery, by that of the god of lasciviousness; and so on." [2]

Before the cremation on the premises or in the forest the body was washed twice more and covered with different mantles. The ashes were buried in the premises, in the temple courts, or in the fields or mountains. There were evidently no regular graveyards. Those who had died a violent death or of some incurable disease were not burned but were interred in special graves.[3]

Future life. "The future abode of the Mexicans had three divisions to which the dead were admitted according to their rank in life and manner of death. Glorious as was the fate of the warrior who died in the cause of his country, on the battle-field, or in the hands of the enemy's priests, still more glorious was the destiny that awaited his soul. The fallen Viking was carried by radiant Valkyries to Valhalla, but the Aztec hero was borne in the arms of Teoyaomique

[1] H. H. Bancroft, The Native Races of the Pacific States, Vol. II, pp. 603 ff.
[2] Ibid. p. 614.
[3] Ibid. pp. 615–616.

herself, the consort of Huitzilopochtli, to the bright plains of the sun-house, in the eastern part of the heavens, where shady groves, trees loaded with luscious fruit and flowers steeped in honey, vied with the attractions of vast hunting-parks, to make his time pass happily. Here also awaited him the presents sent by affectionate friends below. Every morning when the sun set out upon his journey, these bright strong warriors seized their weapons and marched before him, shouting and fighting sham battles. This continued until they reached the zenith, where the sun was transferred to the charge of the Celestial Women, after which the warriors dispersed to the chase or the shady grove. The members of the new escort were women who had died in war or child-bed, and lived in the western part of the Sun House. Dressed like the warriors in martial accoutrement, they conducted the sun to his home, some carrying the litter of quetzal feathers in which he reclined, while others went in front shouting and fighting gaily. Arrived at the extreme west they transferred the sun to the dead of Mictlan, and went in quest of their spindles, shuttles, baskets and other implements necessary for weaving or household work. The only other persons who are mentioned as being admitted to the Sun House, were merchants who died on their journey. After four years of this life the souls of the warriors pass into birds of beautiful plumage, which live on the honey of flowers growing in the celestial gardens or seek their sustenance on earth."[1]

The second place of the dead was called Tlalocan. It was "a terrestrial paradise, the source of the river and all the nourishment of the earth, where joy reigns and sorrow is unknown, where every imaginable product of the field and garden grows in profusion beneath a perpetual summer sky." To this place went those who had been killed by lightning, who were drowned, or who had died of some incurable disease. Children also were there playing in the gardens, and once a year they returned to earth in invisible form to join in the festival.

"The third destination of the dead, provided for those who died of ordinary diseases or old age, and, accordingly, for the great majority, was Mictlan, 'the place of the dead,' which is described as a vast, pathless place, a land of darkness and desolation, where the dead after their time of probation are sunk in a sleep that knows no

[1] H. H. Bancroft, The Native Races of the Pacific States, Vol. III, pp. 532–533.

waking."[1] This place cannot be regarded as a hell, but rather a place of negative punishment, a sort of Nirvana, in which the soul was at last blown out and lost. "The lords and nobles seem even here to have kept up the barriers which separated them from the contaminating touch of inferiors, and doubtless the good and respectable were classed apart from low miscreants and criminals."[2]

Government. *The king.* The government of the Aztecs was an absolute monarchy; but the line of succession was not from father to son, but from brother to brother or the son of a brother. Thus the election was always restricted to the same family. After the death of the king the group that met to decide on the new monarch consisted of four of the principal nobles who had been chosen by their own body in the preceding reign. These men had lived at court and were therefore in a position to know the character and qualifications of the candidates. They were thus able to place the best man on the throne, a thing which is not always possible under a hereditary monarchy.

"The almost absolute authority vested in the person of the sovereign rendered great discrimination necessary in his selection. It was essential that the ruler of a people surrounded by enemies and continually bent upon conquest, should be an approved and valiant warrior; having the personal direction of state affairs, it was necessary that he should be a deep and subtle politician; the gross superstition and theocratic tendencies of the governed required the governor to be versed in religion, holding the gods in reverence; and the records of the nation prove that he was generally a man of culture, and a patron of art and science."[3]

"The pomp and circumstance which surrounded the Aztec monarchs, and the magnificence of their everyday life was most impressive. From the moment of his coronation the Aztec sovereign lived in an atmosphere of adulation unknown to the mightiest potentate of the old world. Reverenced as a god, the haughtiest nobles, sovereigns in their own land, humbled themselves before him; absolute in power, the fate of thousands depended upon a gesture of his hand."[4]

The ceremony of anointment, which preceded that of the coronation, was the occasion for much display. All those who had attended the funeral of the old king were invited to attend. The procession

[1] H. H. Bancroft, The Native Races of the Pacific States, Vol. III, p. 533.
[2] Ibid. p. 534. [3] Ibid. Vol. II, pp. 138–139. [4] Ibid. Vol. II, pp. 143–144.

started from the palace and moved to the temple of Huitzilopochtli, the god of war. In the lead were the most powerful nobles of the realm; then came the king elect, wearing only a loin cloth; and bringing up the rear were the lesser nobles and the common people. Silently the procession moved through the streets; there was no beating of drums or shouts of the people. When they arrived at the temple the king and the high nobles ascended the hundred and fourteen steps to the top. When they reached the top the king paid reverence to the god by touching earth with his hand and then carrying the hand to his mouth. The high priest then covered the king's body with a black ointment and sprinkled him with holy water. Over his shoulders was placed a mantle decorated with a skull and bones to remind him that even a king is mortal, his head was covered with several veils, and round his neck was tied a small gourd filled with powder that was supposed to ward off diseases. In his hand was placed a bag of copal, with which he perfumed the god. The ceremony ended with a speech from the high priest, in which he told the king to look after the welfare of his people, to protect them from suffering, to pay great attention to war, to punish criminals and put down rebellion, to have great regard for religion, and to see that the temples always had plenty of victims for sacrifice.

When the speech was over the king was led to another temple, where he spent four days alone doing penance, praying to the gods, eating but once a day, and bathing twice during each twenty-four hours. On the fifth day he was conducted to the palace, and then there were great games, feasts, and illuminations.[1]

Preceding the coronation the king had to go to war to obtain victims for the sacrifice. Of the exact ceremonies of the coronation there is little information. After the crown was placed upon the king's head there was great rejoicing throughout the realm. The king gave great banquets, and there were held games and festivals for the common people. One of the great features was the long speeches of congratulation given by visiting kings to the new monarch.[2]

The nobles. Under the king in rank were a great and powerful body of nobles.

[1] H. H. Bancroft, The Native Races of the Pacific States, Vol. II, pp. 144 ff.

[2] Some of these speeches, which are much too long to reproduce here, are given by Bancroft in "The Native Races of the Pacific States," Vol. II, pp. 149 ff.

"According to some accounts there were in Montezuma's realm, thirty great lords who each controlled one hundred thousand vassals, and three thousand other lords also very powerful. A number of nobles possessing such formidable power as this, would, if permitted to live on their estates, some of which were a long distance from the capital, have been a constant threatening source of danger to the crown. . . . To guard against any such catastrophe, the more powerful nobles were required to reside in the capital, at least during the greater part of each year; and permission to return to their homes for a short time, could only be obtained on condition that they left a son or brother as a guarantee of good faith during their absence."[1]

Two other devices were decided upon by different Aztec kings to prevent a possible uprising of the nobles. The twenty-six provinces of the kingdom were subdivided into sixty-five departments, and over these were placed thirty-five governors whose loyalty to the king was unquestioned. While this did not despoil the ancient lords of all their authority or of their estates, yet it did diminish a good deal of their jurisdiction. The next step was to count and divide into sections each province.

"They [the people] were then changed about from place to place, in numbers proportioned to the size and population of the territory. For example, from a division containing six thousand people, two thousand were taken and transported into the territory of another lord, from the number of whose vassals two thousand were also taken and placed upon the vacated land in the first lord's possessions. Each noble, however, retained his authority over that portion of his vassals which had been removed by this means, although the number of each lord's vassals remained the same, yet as a large portion of each territory was occupied by the vassals of another, a revolt would be difficult. Nor could two nobles unite their forces against the crown, as care was taken that the interchange of dependants should not be effected between two estates adjoining each other."[2]

There were five nobles invested with the highest offices. One was made commander in chief of the army and president of the military council; the second was the grand master of ceremonies, whose

[1] H. H. Bancroft, The Native Races of the Pacific States, Vol. II, p. 187.
[2] Ibid. pp. 190–191.

duty it was to receive and introduce to the court the ambassadors of foreign princes and to provide for their entertainment. The third was master of the royal household and minister of finance; he was assisted by a council of other nobles; this body kept an account of all taxes paid by the people, and was expected to know the conditions in all the towns and provinces and to distribute the taxes in proportion to the needs of the people. The fourth officer was the grand chamberlain, who attended the king's private apartments, and the fifth superintended the workers in precious metals, jewels, and feathers.

Very little is known of the freemen below the nobles, but there is very little doubt that these latter oppressed them at all times. One writer says: "'So great is the authority which the caciques (nobles) have assumed over their vassals that these latter dare not open their lips to complain of any order given them, no matter how difficult or disagreeable it may be to fulfill; indeed, they would rather die and perish than incur the wrath of their lord; for this reason the nobles frequently abuse their power and are often guilty of extortion, robbery and violence toward their vassals.'"[1]

The slaves. The lowest class in the social scale were the slaves, and of these there were three groups: prisoners of war, those condemned for crime or for debt, and those who had sold themselves or who had been sold by their parents. Nearly all the prisoners of war were sacrificed to the gods. Almost the only exception to this was when a slave showed great ability in music, embroidery, or weaving, when he or she was purchased by the king or a noble and thus saved from the sacrifice.

Slaves, with the exception of war prisoners, were treated kindly. The duties consisted "merely of an obligation to render personal service, nor could that be exacted without allowing the slave a certain amount of time to labor for his own advantage. . . . They could marry and bring up families, hold property, including other slaves to serve them, and their children were invariably born free."[2] In times of great want people frequently sold themselves and their children and descendants for many generations. "Very young or poor slaves lived at the home of their masters, and were treated almost as

[1] H. H. Bancroft, The Native Races of the Pacific States, Vol. II, p. 217, quoting Acosta, "De Procuranda Indorum Salute." [2] Ibid. p. 221.

members of the family; the other slaves lived independently, either on their owner's land, or upon their own."[1]

Slavery among the Aztecs, then, appears to have been only a partial deprivation of a freeman's rights.

"As a slave was permitted to possess property and even other slaves of his own, and as his children were born free, and he had complete control of his own family, we can scarcely say he lost his citizenship, although it is true he was not eligible for public office. It was a common practice for a master during his lifetime, or on his death-bed, to emancipate his slaves, but if no such provision were made they went to his heirs with the rest of the property. Murder of a slave, even by his master, was a capital offense."[2]

Laws. The legislative power resided with the monarch. There were, however, judicial tribunals.

"Over each of the principal cities, with its dependant territories, was placed a supreme judge, appointed by the crown, with original and final jurisdiction in both civil and criminal cases. There was no appeal from his sentence to any other tribunal, or even to the king. He held his office during life.

"Below this magistrate was a court established in each province, and consisting of three members. It held concurrent jurisdiction with the supreme judge in civil suits, but, in criminal, an appeal lay to his tribunal. Besides these courts, there was a body of inferior magistrates, distributed through the country, chosen by the people themselves in their several districts. Their authority was limited to smaller causes, while the more important were carried up to the higher courts. There was still another class of subordinate officers, appointed also by the people, each of whom was to watch over the conduct of a certain number of families, and to report any disorder or breach of the laws to the higher authorities."[3]

It is impossible, of course, in this short space to discuss all the Aztec laws and the punishments for their violation; hence only a few typical ones will be chosen. Theft was punished by a fine, by slavery, or by death, according to the value of the articles taken. If a person stole a large amount he was dragged through the streets and then hanged; if he robbed on the highway he had his head smashed

[1] H. H. Bancroft, The Native Races of the Pacific States, Vol. II, p. 221.
[2] Ibid. pp. 222–223. [3] W. H. Prescott, Conquest of Mexico, Vol. I, p. 29.

with a club. If the articles stolen were gold and silver the culprit was skinned alive, for such a theft was considered a direct insult to the god of precious metals. A murderer was always put to death. "Traitors, conspirators, and those who stirred up sedition among the people or created ill-feeling between nations, were broken to pieces at the joints, their houses were razed to the ground, their property confiscated, and their children and relations made slaves to the fourth generation."[1] Drunkenness was punished severely; in fact, without the permission of the judges intoxicating liquor could not be consumed. This permission was granted only to invalids and to people over fifty years of age, who, it was thought, needed strong drink to warm the blood, but even they could take only a limited amount at each meal.

"Moderate conviviality at weddings and public feasts was not forbidden, and upon these occasions the young people were allowed to partake of the wine cup sparingly. . . . With these exceptions, the law against drinking was strictly enforced. The young man who became drunk was conveyed to the jail, and there beaten to death with clubs; the young woman was stoned to death. . . . Should a military man, who had gained distinction in the wars, become drunk, he was deprived of his rank and honors, and considered henceforth as infamous. . . . A noble was invariably hanged for the first offense, his body being afterwards dragged without the limits of the town and cast into a stream used for that purpose. . . . But a mightier influence than mere fear of the penal law restrained the Aztec nobility and gentry from drinking to excess; this influence was social law."[2]

"He who employed witchcraft, charms, or incantation for the purpose of doing injury to the community or to individuals, was sacrificed to the gods, by having his breast opened and his heart torn out."[3]

If the guilt of an adulterer was certain, he was stoned to death. If the man were of the lower order he was taken out into a public place and there stoned to death by the people. Another means of death was placing the head of the man on a stone and dropping a heavy stone on it. Adulterers who were found guilty merely on circumstantial evidence suffered death by strangulation. A husband could not take the law into his own hands and kill his wife and her

[1] H. H. Bancroft, The Native Races of the Pacific States, Vol. II, p. 459.
[2] Ibid. pp. 460–461.
[3] Ibid. p. 462.

lover; if he did, he was killed; if the lover tried to save himself by killing the husband he was roasted alive before a slow fire, and his body was basted with salt and water so that death might not come too soon.[1]

The calendar. "Perhaps the strongest proof of the advanced civilization of the Nahuas was their method of computing time, which, for ingenuity and correctness, equaled, if it did not surpass, the system adopted by contemporaneous European and Asiatic nations.

AN AZTEC CALENDAR STONE

Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York

"The Nahuas were well acquainted with the movements of the sun and the moon, and even of some of the planets, while celestial phenomena, such as eclipses, although attributed to unnatural causes, were nevertheless carefully observed and recorded. They had, moreover, an accurate system of dividing the day into fixed periods, corresponding somewhat to our hours; indeed, . . . the Aztec calendar-stone, which was found in the plaza at the City of Mexico, was used not only as a durable register, but also as a sun-dial."[2]

The year was divided into eighteen months of twenty days each. Five complementary days were added to make the three hundred and sixty-five. These belonged to no month and were regarded as unlucky. The month was divided into four weeks of five days each. Since a year has nearly six hours more than three hundred and sixty-five days, the Aztecs provided for this by intercalation: not every fourth year, but every fifty-second year, when they interposed twelve

[1] H. H. Bancroft, The Native Races of the Pacific States, Vol. II, p. 465.
[2] Ibid. p. 502.

and a half days, this being the number that had fallen in arrear. Had they put in thirteen it would have been too much, since the annual excess over three hundred and sixty-five is about eleven minutes less than six hours. This system brought them to within an almost inappreciable fraction of the tropical year as it is now accepted. "Indeed, the intercalation of twenty-five days, in every hundred and four years, shows a nicer adjustment of civil to solar time than is presented by any European calendar; since more than five centuries must elapse before the loss of an entire day."[1]

Writing. The Aztec writing was in many ways similar to the hieroglyphics of Egypt. They had first the simple pictures to represent the object, such as a house, a dog, a man. As time went on and more writing was done, the drawings were simplified until the lines necessary to show that a man or a house was meant were retained. This, of course, was a backward step artistically, but it was a great advance in the art of writing. Along with this went symbolic picture-writing, where abstract qualities could be expressed; as, a fish for swimming, a series of footprints for a journey, a black square for night, and so on. The last development was the phonetic; in this the objects spoken of were not drawn, but sounds were represented by the pictures of objects in whose names the sounds occurred; first words, then syllables, then elementary sounds. For instance, to take an English example, the word "charity" may be written by drawing a chair, an eye, a chest of tea: *chair-eye-tea*. In pronouncing this word the sounds of the words represented by the pictures are used without any reference to their meaning. Beyond this stage the Aztecs did not go; that is, they did not evolve the alphabet.[2]

"Clumsy as it was, the Aztec picture-writing seems to have been adequate to the demands of the nation in their imperfect state of civilization. By means of it were recorded all their laws, and even their regulations for domestic economy; their tribute-rolls, specifying the imposts of the various towns; their mythology, calendars, and rituals; their political annals, carried back to a period long before the foundation of the city. They digested a complete system of chronology, and could specify with accuracy the dates of the most

[1] W. H. Prescott, Conquest of Mexico, Vol. I, pp. 111 ff.

[2] H. H. Bancroft, The Native Races of the Pacific States, Vol. II, pp. 533 ff.; W. H. Prescott, Conquest of Mexico, Vol. I, p. 92 ff.

important events in their history, the year being inscribed on the margin, against the particular circumstance recorded."[1]

"Their manuscripts were made of different materials, — cotton cloth, or skins nicely prepared; of a composition of silk and gum; but for the most part, of a fine fabric from the leaves of the aloe,

A PAGE FROM THE CODEX, A PERUVIAN MANUSCRIPT
Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York

called by the natives, maguey, which grows luxuriantly over the table-lands of Mexico. A sort of paper was made from it, resembling somewhat the Egyptian papyrus, which, when properly dressed and polished, is said to have been more soft and beautiful than parchment. Some of the specimens, still existing, exhibit their original freshness, and the paintings on them retain their brilliancy of colors.

[1] W. H. Prescott, Conquest of Mexico, Vol. I, pp. 97–98.

They were some times done up into rolls, but more frequently into volumes of moderate size, in which the paper was shut up, like a folding-screen, with a leaf or tablet of wood at each extremity, that gave the whole, when closed, the appearance of a book."[1]

"At the time of the arrival of the Spaniards, great quantities of these manuscripts were treasured up in the country. Numerous persons were employed in painting, and the dexterity of their operation excited the astonishment of the Conquerors.... The strange unknown characters inscribed on them excited suspicion. They were looked on as magic scrolls; and were regarded in the same light with the idols and temples, as the symbols of a pestilent superstition, that must be extirpated."[2]

The first archbishop of Mexico collected these paintings, piled them up in a great heap, and had them burned. The soldiers were quick to take the hint, and every chart and volume that fell into their hands was destroyed, so that later when scholars sought to recover these documents they found most of them had perished. "Through the indefatigable labors of a private individual, however, a considerable collection was eventually deposited in the archives of Mexico; but was so little heeded there, that some were plundered, others decayed piecemeal from the damp and mildews, and others, again, were used up as waste-paper."[3] A few of these manuscripts have found their way to the libraries of Europe, where they are carefully preserved today. From these we have recovered much of our knowledge of the early Aztecs, but it is certain that in those manuscripts that were destroyed was recorded all that these peoples knew of their past history.

Conclusion. The great civilization which these Aztec peoples developed has gone, ruthlessly destroyed by a people of higher culture. The Spanish, under the leadership of Cortez, came seeking for gold and treasure. In a relatively short time they had burned the cities, demolished the temples, plundered the treasures, and killed the king, the priests, and the nobles. Thousands of people were the victims of the diseases introduced by the Spanish soldiers. And so from a proud nation, with a civilization which in time would probably have rivaled that in Europe, they were reduced to a small, scattered group of people fleeing before the treasure hunters from Spain.

[1] W. H. Prescott, Conquest of Mexico, Vol. I, pp. 99–100.
[2] Ibid. p. 101. [3] Ibid. p. 102.

CHAPTER XXII

INCAS

One of the great mysteries of the American continents is the high civilization of the Aztecs of Mexico and the Incas of Peru. How these peoples, of all those in North and South America, reached their advanced stage of development is unknown. It is not probable that they had any connection with each other before the Spanish conquest. We are now to consider the peoples under Inca rule, collecting our data mainly from Prescott's classic work.[1]

Geography of the country. The land of the Incas was the plateau of Peru; so that while they were within tropical latitudes, yet because of altitude they were surrounded by a temperate climate. The case proves no exception to the statement that none of the great civilizations of the world have ever developed within the tropical regions.

Peru is divided into three main sections that run parallel to each other. Along the Pacific coast is a strip of land almost destitute of vegetation except in the immediate neighborhood of some of the fifty streams that cross it. About half of these rise in the lofty snow-capped Andes and have a constant supply of water throughout the year. The others rising in the lower outer mountain ranges are not supplied with water by melting snows and so are dry a great portion of the year.

The second section of Peru is a region about two hundred and fifty miles in width consisting of chains of lofty mountains, high plains, table-lands, warm, fertile valleys, and ravines. It was here that the great Inca civilization developed.

The third region is made up of tropical forests along the Amazon and skirting the eastern slope of the Andes.

Early history. Before the time of the Incas there lived in Peru a race of people whose origin, history, and fate are lost in obscurity. They may have been the ancestors of the Incas, but of this we have no knowledge. Even the Incas themselves knew nothing about them,

[1] Conquest of Peru.

except the ruins of their buildings that are still standing today, but around them there grew up a mass of legends and stories which cast little light on the subject.

These pre-Inca peoples lived on the banks of Lake Titicaca, and from their buildings the Incas asserted that they learned much as to the methods of stone-working. In these buildings are stones so large that it would tax the ingenuity of modern man to move them, for some of them are thirty-six feet by seven feet by six feet, others

INDIAN MEN, PRESENT-DAY INHABITANTS OF PERU

Courtesy of Hiram Bingham

twenty-six feet by sixteen feet by six feet. With the exception of those in Egypt, these are the largest cut stones known to man. The high type of workmanship is shown in the smooth surfaces, straight lines, and accurate angles. The upright monoliths have mortises and projecting ledges to hold the horizontal slabs in place. A great number of the stones are elaborately carved with complicated figures and designs. Recently there was unearthed a long flight of steps which shows a development as high as that of the Incas at the pinnacle of their civilization, if not higher.

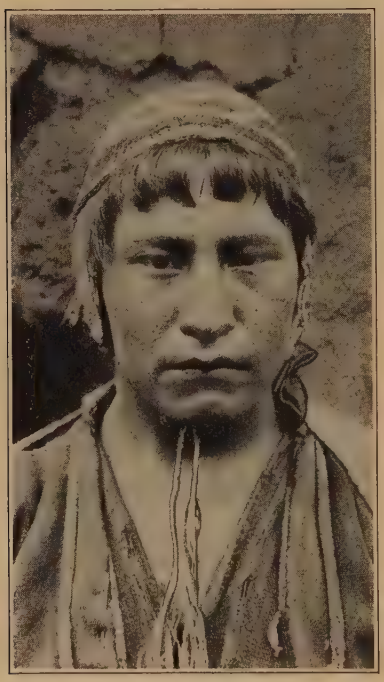
Origin of the Incas. As we have said, the origin of the civilization of the Incas is lost in obscurity; even they themselves knew nothing

of it. To make up for this lack of knowledge, they followed the practice of all peoples who are in the same condition and invented a myth which was based on the fact that they worshiped the sun and that they considered their ruler a son of the sun. Several hundred years before the arrival of the Spaniards in Peru the sun saw that the land was inhabited by savage peoples who knew nothing of the ways of civilization, and he became sorry for them.[1] In order that they might be taught, he sent them two of his children, a son and daughter, who were man and wife. Manco Capac and Mama Coya Huaco, for so they were called, were placed in Lake Titicaca and told to go in any direction that they chose. They were given a gold staff which they were to stick into the ground at frequent intervals; and where it sank in and disappeared, there they were to establish a city. Before leaving, their father gave them final advice and said: "When you have reduced these people to our service, you shall maintain them in habits of reason and justice, by the practice of piety, clemency, and meekness, assuming in all things the office of a pious father toward his beloved and tender children. Thus you will form a likeness and reflection of me. I do good to the whole world, giving light that men may see and do their business, making them warm when they are cold, cherishing their pastures and crops, ripening their

[1] To the mind of Garcilasso de la Vega their lack of culture is shown by their lack of clothes. In rather quaint language he describes it as follows: "Their dress, owing to its indecency, is more a subject for keeping silence upon and for concealing than for talking of and describing. But as the truth of history obliges me to tell everything correctly, I must beseech modest ears to close themselves, that they may not hear me in this part; and should they punish me with this disfavour, I shall hold them to be well employed. In this first epoch the Indians dressed like animals, for they wore no more clothing than the skin which nature had given them. Many of them, either for love of adorning themselves or out of peculiarity, had a thick string girded round their bodies, which served them as clothing, but we must say no more on this head, as it is not proper.

"The women went about in the same dress, that is, naked. Those who were married had a thread girded round the body, to which was fastened a sort of apron consisting of a rag of cotton a yard square. In places where they could not or would not weave, they used bark of trees or leaves, which served as a covering for the sake of decency. Virgins also wore a girdle of thread, and in place of an apron they wore a different sort of thing as a sign that they were virgins. But as it is proper to preserve that respect which is due to the reader, it will be well to keep silence as to what it was. Suffice it to say, that such was the dress in the hot regions, that, as regards decency, the people were like unreasoning beasts; and, by this folly alone, as regards the adorning of their persons, it may be understood how brutal they must have been in all other things — these Indians of heathendom, who lived before the time of the empire of the Incas." — Garcilasso de la Vega, "Royal Commentaries of the Incas," pp. 56–57.

fruits and increasing their flocks, watering their lands with dew and bringing fine weather in the proper season. . . . I desire that you shall initiate this example as my children, sent to the earth solely for the instruction and benefit of these men who live like beasts. And from this time I constitute and name you as kings and lords over all tribes, that you may instruct them in your rational works



AN INDIAN WOMAN

AN INDIAN BOY

Courtesy of Hiram Bingham

and government." With this final instruction they departed, and having reached a spot where the gold staff sank they laid the foundation for the city of Cuzco.

They started in at once to teach the ignorant people, Manco Capac telling the men about agriculture and Mama Coya telling the women about spinning and weaving. These simple people listened willingly to the teachings of the children of the sun and were glad to obey them in all ways, and so they built the city of Cuzco. From here their rule spread in all directions over Peru, and they carried with

them wherever they went the civilization which they had taught to their first group in the neighborhood of Cuzco.

Government.[1] The word "Inca" means "lord" or "king" and was applied to that group who were thought to be descended from the sun. Finally the term was given to all the peoples of this group who worshiped the sun, but the name "the Inca" was used only for the supreme ruler. He was so far above his people that even the nobles could not enter the royal presence unless they were barefooted and carried a light burden on the shoulders in token of homage.

"As the representative of the Sun, he stood at the head of the priesthood, and presided at the most important of the religious festivals. He raised armies, and usually commanded them in person. He imposed taxes, made laws, and provided for their execution by the appointment of judges, whom he removed at pleasure. He was the source from which everything flowed — all dignity, all powers, all emolument."[2]

INCA FOUNDATIONS, CUZCO
Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York

As a physical type the Inca was very much higher than the people over whom he ruled. His skin was many shades lighter, his forehead was high, and his nose was slightly aquiline. The chin and mouth were firm, and the whole face was majestic, refined, and intellectual.

In his manner of living the Inca did everything in his power to impress his superiority on his people. His dress was of the finest dyed wool and was richly ornamented with gold and precious stones. Around his head he wore a turban which had a tasseled fringe of scarlet, and fastened into the folds were two feathers from a rare bird. Anybody who killed one of these birds without the royal

[1] Before taking up a survey of the Inca civilization it is necessary to discuss the rulers, for they played such a dominant part in the everyday life of the people that if we left the treatment of them until the end of the chapter a good deal of the discussion would not be clear.

[2] W. H. Prescott, Conquest of Peru, pp. 24–25.

sanction, or anybody but the Inca who used the feathers, was liable to punishment by death.

"Although the Peruvian monarch was raised so far above the highest of his subjects, he condescended to mingle occasionally with them, and took great pains personally to inspect the conditions of the humbler classes. He presided at some of the religious celebrations, and on these occasions entertained the great nobles at his table, when he complimented them, after the fashion of more civilized nations, by drinking the health of those whom he most delighted to honor."[1]

AN INCA CHIEF

From a painting. (Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York)

"But the most effectual means taken by the Incas for communicating with their people were their progresses through the empire. These were conducted, at intervals of several years, with great state and magnificence. The sedan, or litter, in which they travelled, richly emblazoned with gold and emeralds, was guarded by a numerous escort. The men who bore it on their shoulders were provided by two cities, specially appointed for the purpose. It was a post to be coveted by no one, if, as is asserted, a fall was punished with death. They travelled with ease and expedition, halting at the *tambos* or inns, erected by the government along the route, and occasionally at the royal palaces, which in the great towns afforded ample accommodations to the whole of the monarch's retinue. The noble roads which traversed the table-land were lined with people, who swept away the stones and stubble from their surface, strewing them with sweet-scented flowers, and vying with each other in carrying forward

[1] W. H. Prescott, Conquest of Peru, p. 26.

the baggage from one village to another. The monarch halted from time to time to listen to the grievances of his subjects, or to settle some points which had been referred to his decision by the regular tribunals. As the princely train wound its way along the mountain passes, every place was thronged with spectators eager to catch a glimpse of their sovereign; and, when he raised the curtains of his litter, and showed himself to their eyes, the air was rent with acclamations as they invoked blessings on his head. Tradition long commemorated the spots at which he halted, and the simple people of the country held them in reverence as places consecrated by the presence of an Inca."[1]

When an Inca died his eldest son by his chief sister-wife became the ruler. As far as we know this succession from father to son formed an unbroken line through the whole dynasty. The blood was kept absolutely pure by allowing only the son of the sister-wife to rule.

The early education of the prince was intrusted to the wise men of the state, who taught him science and religion and, above all, the arts of government and war. Having received this elementary training he was thought ready to sit in the councils of his father and was given offices of trust. He was also sent on military expeditions under the most experienced generals so that he might see in practice the things that he had learned in theory. After he became experienced in war he was given command of his own armies.

The nobility of Peru boasted a common descent with their sovereign and lived, as it were, in the reflected light of his glory.

"As the Peruvian monarchs availed themselves of the right of polygamy to a very liberal extent, leaving behind them families of one or even two hundred children, the nobles of the blood royal, though comprehending only their descendants in the male line, came in the course of years to be very numerous. They were divided into different lineages, each of which traced its pedigree to a different member of the royal dynasty, though all terminated in the divine founder of the empire.

"They were distinguished by many exclusive and very important privileges; they wore a peculiar dress; spoke a dialect, if we may believe the chronicler, peculiar to themselves; and had the choicest portion of the public domain assigned for their support. They lived,

[1] W. H. Prescott, Conquest of Peru, pp. 26–28.

most of them, at court, near the person of the prince, sharing in his counsels, dining at his board, or supplied from his table. They alone were admissible to the great offices in the priesthood. They were invested with the command of armies, and of distant garrisons, were placed over the provinces, and, in short, filled every station of high trust and emolument. Even the laws, severe in their general tenor, seem not to have been framed with reference to them; and the people, investing the whole order with a portion of the sacred character which belonged to the sovereign, held that an Inca noble was incapable of crime."[1]

The common people of Peru were divided into small groups, each group ruled over by one man. In every town and in every city the whole population was formed into groups of ten, and over each of these groups one man, called a decurion, presided.

"Five of these decurions, each having charge of nine other men, had a man from among their number who had rule over them, and thus commanded fifty men. Two of these rulers of fifty had a superior, who thus commanded a hundred men. Five centurions were subject to another chief, who ruled five hundred, and two of these obeyed a general commanding a thousand men."[2]

The duties of the decurion were to look after the people under him and to help them whenever they were in trouble. If they needed seeds for planting or cloth for clothes, if their houses fell or burned down, he applied to the governor for help. It was also his function to act as the crown officer and to report every offense, however slight, to his superior, who either pronounced the punishment or referred it to another officer of still higher rank.

The quipus. One of the strangest things in the Inca civilization is the fact that they possessed no writing of any kind, not even the crude picture form that we find among the Aztecs. The only way that they had of preserving any records or of sending a message other than a verbal one was by means of the quipus. This was a cord about two feet long made up of various-colored threads twisted together, and from which a large number of smaller threads were suspended like a fringe. These threads of different colors were tied into knots. The colors represented various things; for example, white meant

[1] W. H. Prescott, Conquest of Peru, pp. 35 ff.

[2] Garcilasso de la Vega, The Royal Commentaries of the Incas, Vol. I, p. 143.

silver or peace, yellow stood for gold, and red for war. But the chief value of the quipus was in arithmetical work. The knots were considered as figures and could be combined in such a way as to read any amount that the person desired. For instance, the man who had charge of the revenues "reported the quantity of raw material distributed among the laborers, the quality and quantity of the fabrics made from it, and the amount of stores, of various kinds, paid into the royal magazines. Another exhibited the register of births and deaths, the marriages, the number of those qualified to bear arms, and the like details in reference to the population of the kingdom. These returns were annually forwarded to the capital, where they were submitted to the inspection of officers acquainted with the art of deciphering these mystic records. The government was thus provided with a valuable mass of statistical information, and the skeins of many-colored threads, collected and carefully preserved, constituted what might be called the national archives.

A QUIPUS

Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York

"But, although the quipus sufficed for all the purposes of arithmetical computation demanded by the Peruvians, they were incompetent to represent the manifold ideas and images, which are expressed by writing. Even here, however, the invention was not without its use. For, independently of the direct representation of simple objects, and even of abstract ideas, to a very limited extent, as above noticed, it afforded great help to the memory by way of association. The peculiar knot or color, in this way, suggested what it could not venture

to represent; in the same manner — to borrow the homely illustration of an old writer — as the number of the Commandment calls to mind the Commandment itself. The quipus, thus used, might be regarded as the Peruvian system of mnemonics."[1]

Industrial life. It is in the industrial life of the Incas that we see the high civilization reached by those people before the Spanish conquest. In a few hundred years they had advanced from savagery to a degree of development that in some respects cannot be surpassed even today in the civilized nations of the world.

BOATS ON LAKE TITICACA
Courtesy of Hiram Bingham

It seldom happens that one country will possess in such a small area so many different kinds of climate and of land. On the seacoast the weather was tropical, on the plateaus it was temperate, on the mountains it was arctic. In parts of the country there was enough water for the most luxuriant, even tropical, vegetation and in others not enough for anything to grow.

The Incas displayed great cleverness in supplying the dry lands along the coast with water. By means of canals and subterranean aqueducts they conveyed the water from distant mountain lakes and streams to the arid land. Some of these aqueducts were between four and five hundred miles long and were tunneled through massive rock and carried across ravines. Frequently they were made of large slabs of freestone so closely fitted together that no cement was necessary. All the stone-cutting was done without the use of iron tools.

[1] W. H. Prescott, Conquest of Peru, pp. 119–120.

Great care was taken so that all the people living along these artificial watercourses should enjoy equal benefits. The amount of water to be used was assigned to each one by law, and royal overseers superintended its distribution and made certain that it was used in the best method.

In many regions the hillsides, although covered with a rich soil, were too steep for cultivation. To make agriculture possible a system of stone-faced terraces was introduced which gradually diminished in size toward the summit, so that those at the bottom were frequently several hundred acres in size, whereas those at the top were just wide enough for a few rows of corn.

The use of fertilizers was not unknown to the Peruvian farmer. He employed various kinds, but the best was guano, the deposit of the sea fowl. This was found in large quantities on the numerous islands off the coast and was so valuable that there was a law forbidding anyone to set foot on the islands during the breeding season or to kill the birds at any time. The penalty for the violation of this was death.

"With this advancement in agricultural science, the Peruvians might be supposed to have had some knowledge of the plough, in such general use among the primitive nations of the eastern continent. But they had neither the iron ploughshare of the Old World, nor had they animals for draught, which, indeed, were nowhere found in the New. The instrument which they used was a strong, sharp-pointed stake, traversed by a horizontal piece, ten or twelve inches from the point, on which the ploughman might set his foot and force it into the ground. Six or eight strong men were attached by ropes to the stake, and dragged it forcibly along — pulling together, and keeping time as they moved by chanting their national songs, in which they were accompanied by the women who followed in the train, to break up the sods with their rakes."[1]

The type of crop which was raised depended largely upon the climatic condition. In the tropical portion of their territory they raised the cassava, the banana, and the coco. On the plateaus in the cooler region they raised maize, the potato, and tobacco, which they used for medicinal purposes as snuff and not for smoking. They also cultivated a narcotic plant called coca,[2] the leaves of which were dried

[1] W. H. Prescott, Conquest of Peru, pp. 136–137.

[2] Cocaine is now obtained from this plant.

and mixed with a little lime and used for chewing. In the higher regions they grew a species of wild rice.

Land. In order to understand something of the rules governing the cultivation of the fields it is necessary to look at a few of their land laws. The whole country was divided into three parts, one of which was reserved for the Sun, another for the Inca, and a third was divided among the people. It is not known whether the division was equal or not.

The revenue from that dedicated to the Sun was used to support the temples, to defray the expense of the elaborate ceremonials, and to pay the numerous priests. "Those [revenues] reserved for the Inca went to support the royal state, as well as the numerous members of his household and his kindred, and supplied the various exigencies of government. The remainder of the lands was divided, per capita, in equal shares among the people. It was provided by law, as we shall see, hereafter, that every Peruvian should marry at a certain age. When the event took place, the community or district in which he lived furnished him with a dwelling, which, as it was constructed of humble materials, was done at little cost. A lot of land was then assigned to him sufficient for his own maintenance and that of his wife. An additional portion was granted for every child, the amount allowed for a son being the double of that for a daughter. The division of the soil was renewed every year, and possessions of the tenant were increased or diminished according to the numbers in his family. [Part of the agricultural produce was taken to Cuzco to be used by the Inca and his court and the rest was stored in great warehouses scattered through the country.] These spacious buildings, constructed of stone, were divided between the Sun and the Inca, though the greater share seems to have been appropriated by the monarch. By a wise regulation, any deficiency in the contributions of the Inca might be supplied from the granaries of the Sun. But such a necessity could rarely have happened; and the providence of the government usually left a large surplus in the royal depositories, which was removed to a third class of magazines, whose design was to supply the people in seasons of scarcity, and, occasionally, to furnish relief to individuals, whom sickness or misfortune had reduced to poverty; thus, in a manner, justifying the assertion of a Castilian document, that a large portion of the rev-

enues of the Inca found its way back again, through one channel or another, into the hands of the people."[1]

Raising cattle and hunting. "A similar arrangement prevailed with respect to the different manufactures as to the agricultural products of the country. The flocks of llamas, or Peruvian sheep, were appropriated exclusively to the Sun and to the Inca. Their number was immense. They were scattered over the different provinces, chiefly in the colder regions of the country, where they were intrusted to the care of experienced shepherds, who conducted them to different

ALPACAS; A LLAMA IN THE MIDDLE, RECOGNIZABLE BY HIS LONG EARS
Courtesy of Hiram Bingham

pastures according to the change of season. A large number was every year sent to the capital for the consumption of the Court, and for the religious festivals and sacrifices. But these were only the males, as no female was allowed to be killed. The regulations for the care and breeding of these flocks were prescribed with the greatest minuteness, and with a sagacity which excited the admiration of the Spaniards, who were familiar with the management of the great migratory flocks of merinos in their own country.

"At the appointed season, they were all sheared, and the wool was deposited in the public magazines. It was then dealt out to each family in such quantities as sufficed for its wants, and was consigned

[1] W. H. Prescott, Conquest of Peru, pp. 48, 57–58.

to the female part of the household, who were well instructed in the business of spinning and weaving. When this labor was accomplished, and the family was provided with a coarse but warm covering, suited to the cold climate of the mountains, — for, in the lower country, cotton, furnished in like manner by the Crown, took the place, to a certain extent, of wool, — the people were required to labor for the Inca. The quantity of the cloth needed, as well as the peculiar kind and quality of the fabric, was first determined at Cuzco. The work was then apportioned among the different provinces. Officers, appointed for the purpose, superintended the distribution of the wool, so that the manufacture of the different articles should be intrusted to the most competent hands. They did not leave the matter here but entered the dwellings, from time to time, and saw that the work was faithfully executed. This domestic inquisition was not confined to the labors for the Inca. It included, also, those for the several families; and care was taken that each household should employ the materials furnished for its own use in the manner that was intended, so that no one should be unprovided with necessary apparel. In this domestic labor all the female part of the establishment was expected to join. Occupation was found for all, from the child five years old to the aged matron not too infirm to hold a distaff. No one, at least none but the decrepit and the sick, was allowed to eat the bread of idleness in Peru. Idleness was a crime in the eye of the law, and, as such, severely punished; while industry was publicly commended and stimulated by rewards."[1]

The laws regarding the hunting of wild beasts were very strict, for although the animals roamed the mountains and forests, yet they were considered as much the property of the Inca as the domesticated sheep. However, once a year there was held a great hunt under the personal direction of the Inca or one of his officers; but a hunt could not take place in the same locality oftener than once every four years. On the day of the hunt sometimes forty or fifty thousand men living in the vicinity would come together and form a big circle that gradually closed in around the country to be hunted over. The men, armed with spears and long poles, drove the game to the center of the ever-diminishing circle. They would put to death the beasts of prey, the male deer, and the coarser kind of Peruvian

[1] W. H. Prescott, Conquest of Peru, pp. 52–53.

sheep; but most of the sheep, sometimes thirty or forty thousand, were captured alive, sheared, and then allowed to escape back to their mountain wilderness.

Metal work. There have been found in the tombs of Peru many articles in metal, such as gold and silver vases, bracelets and collars, utensils of clay and copper, mirrors of burnished silver or of highly polished stone. These all show a great advance in civilization and render all the more surprising the fact that they did not know the use of iron in any form although their land was filled with it. Their tools were made of stone or copper, the latter being frequently alloyed with tin to give it the necessary hardness for their difficult carvings. It is a strange thing that the Egyptians, the Mexicans, and the Peruvians in their advance toward civilization should never have used iron, which lay around them in great quantities, but that each without the knowledge of the others should have found a substitute for it in such an alloy of metals as to give their tools the temper of steel.

All the mines in Peru belonged to the Inca, and were worked by those living in the district where they were situated, but no one gave more than a stipulated amount of time to this labor and was supported by the government while so doing.

Buildings. The Incas developed the art of building structures of cut stone to a very high degree. Frequently the huge blocks would be transported many miles from the quarries, carried across rivers and ravines, raised to their elevated positions on the sierras, adjusted in place with such accuracy and precision that the blade of a pen knife cannot even now be inserted between them, and all without the knowledge of the tools and machinery that we should consider essential before beginning such an undertaking.

The Inca palaces were magnificent buildings scattered throughout the entire Empire. They were all low, as were most of the houses in Peru, but they covered much ground. They contained numerous apartments, but, with the exception of a few, these were small and disconnected.

"But whatever want of elegance there may have been in the exterior of the imperial dwellings, it was amply compensated by the interior, in which all the opulence of the Peruvian princes was ostentatiously displayed. The sides of the apartments were thickly studded

with gold and silver ornaments. Niches, prepared in the walls, were filled with images of animals and plants curiously wrought of the same costly materials; and even much of the domestic furniture, including the utensils devoted to the most ordinary menial services, displayed the like wanton magnificence! With these gorgeous decorations were mingled richly colored stuffs of the delicate manufacture of the Peruvian wool, which were of so beautiful a texture, that

RUINS OF THE GREAT TEMPLE OF VIRACOCHA

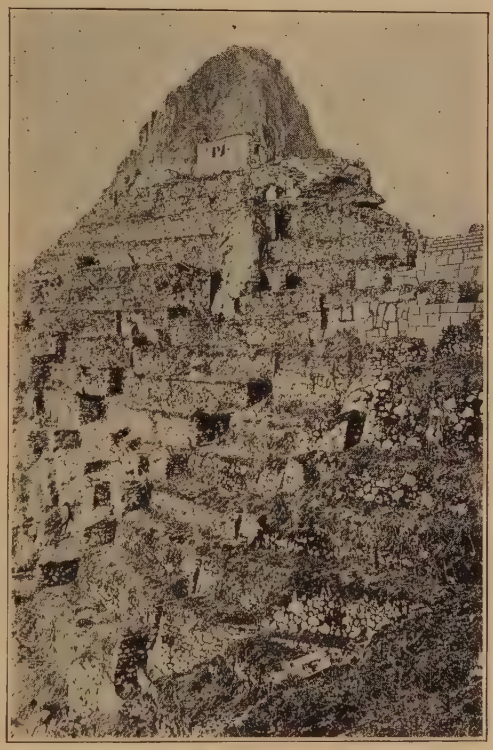
The most remarkable feature of these ruins is that they consist chiefly of adobe which has withstood the ravages of innumerable rain storms for hundreds of years. The lower part of each pier consists of finely cut blocks of stone. The wall is about forty feet high, and five feet thick, decreasing slightly in thickness as it rises. (Courtesy of Hiram Bingham)

the Spanish sovereigns, with all the luxuries of Europe and Asia at their command, did not disdain to use them. The royal household consisted of a throng of menials, supplied by the neighbouring towns and villages, which, as in Mexico, were bound to furnish the monarch with fuel and other necessaries for the consumption of the palace."[1]

The most beautiful group of buildings in all Peru was the Temple of the Sun erected in the center of the city of Cuzco. The exterior walls of the main temple had around the top a frieze of gold a yard wide, but this was the only elaborate decoration on the outside. The

[1] W. H. Prescott, Conquest of Peru, pp. 29 ff.

walls within the temple were of solid gold from the floor to the ceiling. The western wall contained an enormous figure of the Sun in gold. This was a great circular plate powdered with emeralds and other precious stones with a face in the middle, and the rays shooting out in all directions. It was so situated opposite the eastern door that the light of the rising sun fell on it, illuminating the entire interior with a yellow glow. "On either side of the image of the Sun were the bodies of the dead kings arranged according to priority, as children of that Sun.... They were seated upon chairs of gold, placed upon the golden slabs in which they had been used to sit."[1]



MACHU PICCHU

Terraces west of the Sacred Plaza. (Courtesy of Hiram Bingham)

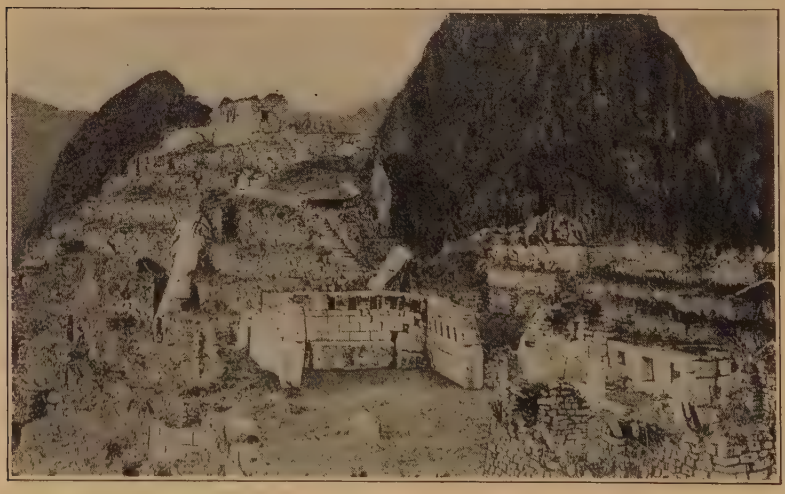
Gold, according to the legends of the Incas, was "the tears wept by the Sun," and so the precious metal was used in all the paraphernalia attendant upon the worship of their deity, even the pipes that led the water through the subterranean channels into the building and the reservoirs into which it poured, were made of gold. In the temple gardens there were flowers and animals of gold and silver made true to life in every detail.

Near the main structure there were smaller chapels, the largest of which was dedicated to the moon, the deity revered next after the Sun as being the mother of the Incas. "Her effigy was delineated in the same manner as that of the Sun, on a vast plate that nearly

[1] Garcilasso de la Vega, The Royal Commentaries of the Incas, Vol. I, p. 273.

THE UPPER "PALACE," MACHU PICCHU
Courtesy of Hiram Bingham

covered one side of the apartment. But this plate, as well as all the decorations of the building, was of silver, as suited to the pale,



THE SACRED CLOISTER OF MACHU PICCHU
Courtesy of Hiram Bingham

silvery light of the beautiful planet. There were three other chapels, one of which was dedicated to the host of Stars, who formed the bright court of the Sister of the Sun; another was consecrated to his dread

ministers of vengeance, the Thunder and the Lightning; and a third, to the Rainbow, whose many-colored arch spanned the walls of the edifice with hues almost as radiant as its own."[1]

The houses of the common people were made of brick. These bricks, molded from earth mixed with reeds and grass, acquired a hardness with age that enabled them to stand the storms and heat of the tropics. The walls of the houses were very thick but seldom more than twelve or fourteen feet high. The rooms all opened onto a court, and as there were no windows, all the light had to come in through the door.

A STAIRWAY, MACHU PICCHU
Courtesy of Hiram Bingham

Roads and bridges. The great kingdom of the Incas, covering as it did thousands of square miles, and composed of many captured tribes, made it necessary to have easy means of communication even to the most outlying districts. Therefore a system of military roads was built which was, in many ways, comparable to that of the Romans.

"One of these roads passed over the grand plateau, and the other along the lowlands on the borders of the ocean. The former was much the more difficult achievement, from the character of the country. It was conducted over pathless sierras buried in snow; galleries were cut for leagues through the living rock; rivers were crossed by means of bridges that swung suspended in the air; precipices were scaled by stairways hewn out of the native bed; ravines of hideous depth were filled up with solid masonry; in short, all the difficulties that beset a wild and mountainous region, and which might appall the most courageous engineer of modern times, were encountered and suc-

[1] W. H. Prescott, Conquest of Peru, pp. 97–98.

cessfully overcome. The length of the road, of which scattered fragments only remain, is variously estimated from fifteen hundred to two thousand miles.

"Over some of the boldest streams it was necessary to construct suspension bridges, as they are termed, made of the tough fibres of the maguey, or of the osier of the country. These osiers were woven into cables of the thickness of a man's body. The huge ropes, then stretched across the water, were conducted through rings or holes cut in immense buttresses of stone raised on the opposite banks of the river, and there secured to heavy pieces of timber. Several of these enormous cables, bound together, formed a bridge, which, covered with planks, well secured and defended by a railing of the same osier materials on the sides, afforded a safe passage for the traveler."[1]

Marriage and children. "The great nobles of Peru were allowed, like their sovereign, a plurality of wives. The people, generally, whether by law, or by necessity stronger than law, were more happily limited to one. Marriage was conducted in a manner that gave it quite as original a character as belonged to the other institutions of the country. On an appointed day of the year, all those of a marriageable age — which, having reference to their ability to take charge of a family, in the males was fixed at not less than twenty-four years, and in the women at eighteen or twenty — were called together in the great squares of their respective towns and villages, throughout the empire. The Inca presided in person over the assembly of his own kindred, and taking the hands of the different couples who were to be united, he placed them within each other, declaring the parties man and wife. The same was done by the curacas[2] towards all persons of their own or inferior degree in their several districts. . . . The simple ceremony of marriage was followed by general festivities among the friends of the parties, which lasted several days; and as every wedding took place on the same day, and as there were few families who had not some one of their members or their kindred personally interested, there was one universal bridal jubilee throughout the empire."[3]

[1] W. H. Prescott, Conquest of Peru, pp. 63–65.
[2] Curacas were the nobles of conquered peoples.
[3] W. H. Prescott, Conquest of Peru, pp. 112–114.

The Inca was forced to take as his chief wife, his eldest sister. If the Inca had no children by his eldest sister he married the second and third until he had children. It was said that by this means the blood of the Sun was kept pure and that the inheritance of the kingdom would pass on as much through the mother as through the father.

"Besides the legitimate wife, these kings had many concubines, some of them being relations of and within the fourth degree, and others, no relations. The children of those who were relations were looked upon as legitimate, because they had no mixture of foreign blood, for the Incas held this purity in high veneration, not only among the kings, but amongst all those of the royal blood. The children of strange girls were considered bastards, and although they were respected as being children of the king, they were not looked upon with that deep veneration which was received by those of pure blood; for the latter were adored as gods, while the former were only looked upon as men."[1]

Position of woman. Most of the household tasks were assigned to the women. They did the cooking, and, in the cold part of the country, they spun and wove the wool and in the hot part, the cotton. There was no cutting of garments, for the whole piece of cloth was draped around the body. They were most industrious and even when walking along the streets or visiting friends carried distaffs for spinning.

Institutions of the Peruvian civilization that savored of the Middle Ages were the nunneries scattered pretty well throughout all the provinces. In these buildings, especially the one at Cuzco, there lived a group, the most beautiful virgins of Peru, dedicated to the services of the Sun. These women were all the daughters of either the king or his nobles, for it would be a sacrilege for any woman who was not of the royal blood to prepare the things used in the service of the Sun. Each virgin had a servant, herself a virgin, who waited on her.

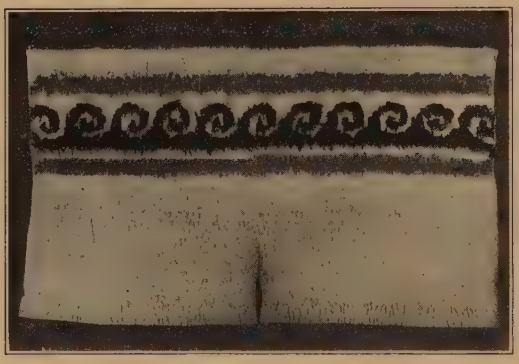
"They lived in perpetual seclusion to the end of their lives, and preserved their virginity; and they were not permitted to converse, or have intercourse with, or to see any man, nor any woman who was not one of themselves. For it was said that the women of the sun should not be made common by being seen of any; and this seclusion was so strict that even the Inca did not allow himself the

[1] Garcilasso de la Vega, The Royal Commentaries of the Incas, p. 310.

privilege of seeing and conversing with them, in order that no other might venture to seek a similar privilege; only the Ccoya who was queen, and her daughters, had leave to enter the house and converse with the virgins, both young and old."[1]

The first duty of these virgins was to make the clothes worn by the Inca and his chief wife and also those sacrificed to the Sun. Besides, the nuns made the bread used in the sacrifices and also the wine drunk by the Inca and his family at the religious festivals.

"All the furniture of the convent, down to the pots, pans, and jars, were of gold and silver, as in the temple of the sun, because the virgins were looked upon as his wives. They also had a garden of trees, plants, herbs, birds, and beasts, made of gold and silver, like that in the temple.



FEATHER PONCHO
Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York

"There was a law for the nun who should transgress this rule of life [virginity] that she should be buried alive and that her accomplice should be strangled. But as it seemed to them but a slight punishment only to kill a man for so grave an offence as the violation of a woman dedicated to the Sun, his god, and the father of his kings, the law directed that the wife, children, servants, and relations of the delinquent should be put to death, as well as all the inhabitants of his village and all their flocks, without leaving a suckling nor a crying baby, as the saying is. The village was pulled down and the site strewn with stones, that the birth-place of so bad a son might for ever remain desolate and accursed, where no man nor even beast might rest."[2]

Besides these virgins dedicated to the Sun there were other women who were dedicated to the Inca for his use. They did not have to be of the royal blood and any parents who had a beautiful daughter thought it a great honor to have her chosen as one of the concubines of the king.

[1] Garcilasso de la Vega, The Royal Commentaries of the Incas, p. 293. [2] Ibid. p. 298.

"These girls were guarded with the same care and vigilance as those of the Sun. They had servant-maids like the others, and were maintained out of the estates of the Inca, because they were his women. They could do the same work as those of the Sun. Weaving and sewing, making clothes in very great quantities for the Inca, and making all the other things we have mentioned as being the work of the virgins of the Sun. The Inca distributed the work of these girls among the royal family, the Curacas, war captains, and all other persons whom he desired to honour with presents. . . .

"The same severe law existed against delinquents who violated the women of the Inca as against those who were guilty with virgins dedicated to the Sun, as the crime was considered to be the same, but it was never enforced because it was never transgressed."[1]

"Those who had once been sent out as concubines of the king, could not again return to the convent, but served in the royal palace as servants of the queen, until they obtained permission to return to their homes, where they received houses and lands, and were treated with much veneration, for it was a very great honour to the whole neighbourhood to have near them a woman of the Inca. Those who did not attain to the honour of being concubines of the king, remained in the convent until they were very old, and then had permission to return home, or else died in the convent."[2]

Pleasures. The pleasures of the Incas consisted chiefly of festivals held at various intervals throughout the year at which they had feasting, drinking, singing, dancing, and sometimes play acting. Tragedies and comedies were composed and played before the Inca and his court. The tragedies dealt with military deeds, triumphs, and victories, or portrayed the splendor of former kings and heroes. The comedies had for their subject matter agricultural pursuits or household tasks. The actors who took part in these plays were not the common people, but noblemen and their sons.

One play, called "Ollanta," still remains for us *in toto*. It is divided into acts and scenes and tells a love story of one of their heroes and the trials and tribulations through which he went before he was united, through the clemency of the Inca, to the lady of his choice. This play is not infrequently performed today in some of the South American cities.

[1] Garcilasso de la Vega, The Royal Commentaries of the Incas, p. 300. [2] Ibid. p. 301.

The people had developed poetry, and understood the composition of long and short verses. In some of their love songs they even used the rhyme, although this was not very common. Much of their

PERUVIAN MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS
Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York

poetry recorded the deeds of the rulers, but as there was no writing, it was handed on by word of mouth to the children, thus keeping continually before the minds of the young the great events of the past.

The love songs were short and the tunes were such that they could be easily played on the flute, which was the chief musical instrument. One of them is as follows:

To this my song
You will sleep.
In dead of night
I will come.

One of their myths relating to the elements, which was put into poetic form, follows. "They say that the creator placed a maiden, the daughter of a king, in the sky, who holds a vase full of water, to pour out when the earth requires it. Occasionally her brother is supposed to break it, and the blow causes thunder, lightning, and thunderbolts. They say that these are caused by a man, because they are the deeds of a ferocious man and not of a tender woman. But the maiden causes the snow, hail, and rain to fall, because they are more kind and gentle acts, and produce great benefits."[1] Here follows the verse:

Beautiful maiden,
Thy brother
Thy urn
Is now breaking
And for this cause
It thunders and lightens.
Thunderbolts also fall.
But thou, royal maiden,
With thy clear waters
Dropping rain
And sometimes also
Will give us hail,
Will give us snow.
The Creator of the World,
Pachacamac,
Viracocho,
For this duty
Has appointed you,
Has created you.

Religion. The basis of the Inca religion was the worship of the Sun. "It was he, who, in a particular manner, presided over the des-

[1] Garcilasso de la Vega, Royal Commentaries of the Incas, p. 196.

tinies of man; gave light and warmth to the nations, and life to the vegetable world; whom they reverenced as the father of their royal dynasty, the founder of their empire. . . .

"Besides the Sun, the Incas acknowledged various objects of worship in some way or other connected with this principal deity. Such was the Moon, his sister-wife; the Stars, revered as part of her heavenly train, — though the fairest of them, Venus, known to the Peruvians by the name of Chasca, or the 'youth with the long and curling locks,' was adored as the page of the Sun, whom he attends so closely in his rising and in his setting. They dedicated temples also to the Thunder and Lightning, in whom they recognized the Sun's dread ministers, and to the Rainbow, whom they worshipped as a beautiful emanation of their glorious deity.

"In addition to these, the subjects of the Incas enrolled among their inferior deities many objects in nature, as the elements, the winds, the earth, the air, great mountains and rivers, which impressed them with ideas of sublimity and power, or were supposed in some way or other to exercise a mysterious influence over the destinies of man. . . . But their system, far from being limited even to these multiplied objects of devotion, embraced within its ample folds the numerous deities of the conquered nations, whose images were transported to the capital, where the burdensome charges of their worship were defrayed by their respective provinces. It was a rare stroke of policy in the Incas, who could thus accommodate their religion to their interests."[1]

"The sacrifices which the Incas offered to the Sun consisted of many different things, such as domestic animals, large and small. The principal and most esteemed sacrifice was that of lambs; next to which came that of sheep, then that of barren ewes. They also sacrificed rabbits, and all birds used for food, all the cereals, the herb *cuca*, and the finest cloths. They burnt these things as a thank-offering to the sun, for having created them for the support of man."[2]

The best evidence that can be obtained seems to prove that the Incas did not sacrifice human beings to the Sun at their religious festivals although it was a common practice of the Aztecs in Mexico.

[1] W. H. Prescott, Conquest of Peru, pp. 92–94.

[2] Garcilasso de la Vega, The Royal Commentaries of the Incas, p. 129.

The priests of the Sun at Cuzco were all of the royal family, and the high priest was usually a brother of the Inca and was second only to him in dignity. He received his appointment from the king and held office for life. In each of the outlying provinces the chief priest was always of the royal blood, but the others were chosen from the families of the Curacas. The idea of this was to make sure that the faith should be kept pure and that no departure, however slight, should take place in the ceremonials.

The duties of the priest were confined exclusively to the temple, where the fasts and feasts and elaborate ritual were as complicated as any found in either pagan or Christian countries. Each month had numerous festivals. The four principal ones of the year dealt with the progress of the Sun and took place at the solstices and at the equinoxes.

The most important of all the Sun ceremonials was held at the summer solstice. For three days before no fire could be lighted in any house and the people were required to fast. On the day of the solstice the Inca and his court, surrounded by all the nobles of the land, dressed in their most gorgeous robes, assembled in the great square of the city to greet the rising sun. "Eagerly they watched the coming of their deity, and, no sooner did his first yellow rays strike the turrets and loftiest buildings of the capital, than a shout of gratulation broke forth from the assembled multitude, accompanied by songs of triumph, and the wild melody of barbaric instruments, that swelled louder and louder as his bright orb, rising above the mountain range towards the east, shone in full splendor on his votaries. After the usual ceremonies of adoration, a libation was offered to the great deity by the Inca, from a huge golden vase, filled with the fermented liquor of maize or of maguey, which, after the monarch had tasted it himself, he dispensed among his royal kindred. These ceremonies completed, the vast assembly was arranged in order of procession, and took its way toward the Coricancha.

"As they entered the street of the sacred edifice, all divested themselves of their sandals, except the Inca and his family, who did the same on passing through the portals of the temple, where none but these august personages were admitted. After a decent time spent in devotion, the sovereign, attended by his courtly train, again appeared, and preparations were made to commence

the sacrifice. This, with the Peruvians, consisted of animals, grain, flowers, and sweet-scented gums."[1]

Another important festival was held from September 22 to October 22 and had as its purpose the offering of prayers to the creator to shield the people from illness and to drive all evil from the land. On the principal day four hundred of the leading men gathered in the big square. They divided up into groups of one hundred, each facing one of the cardinal points, and shouted: "Oh sickness, disaster, and misfortune, go forth from the land. Go forth all evils."

DECORATIONS FROM ANCIENT PERUVIAN TERRA COTTA VESSELS
Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York

Then all four companies ran with great speed in the direction they were facing and bathed in the first river to which they came. This was done in order that the rivers might carry all evils to the sea.

As the men started to run, all the people came out of their houses, and, shaking their mantles, cried: "Let the evils begone. Oh creator of all things, permit us to reach another year, that we may see another feast like this." At the end of the day all the people, including the Inca, started to dance and continued until dawn, when they bathed in the fountains and the rivers. During the entire festival no man could get angry or scold his neighbor.[2]

The Incas believed in a life after death and also in the resurrection of the body. If a man had been good here he went to the upper world, where the existence was corporeal and not spiritual. The life beyond the grave was one of tranquillity and peace with no toil or sorrow,

[1] W. H. Prescott, Conquest of Peru, pp. 104–105.
[2] C. R. Markham, The Incas of Peru, pp. 126–127.

but it did not include the sensual delights such as appear in the Paradise of the Mohammedans. For the wicked there was a place in the center of the earth where they paid for their sins by ages of weary labor, and where they suffered sorrows untold.

"As they believed that the occupations in the future world would have great resemblance to those of the present, they buried with the deceased noble some of his apparel, his utensils, and frequently his treasures; and completed the gloomy ceremony by sacrificing his wives and his favorite domestics, to bear him company and do him service in the happy region beyond the clouds. Vast mounds of an irregular, or, more frequently, oblong shape, penetrated by galleries running at right angles to each other, were raised over the dead."[1]

It was thought that at the resurrection a person renewed his temporal life. It was for this reason that the body was preserved with such care. There was a simple process of keeping the remains by drying in the cold, rarefied atmosphere of the mountains, but as far as we know they had no elaborate system of artificially embalming, such as is found among the Egyptians.

During life the people took extreme care to preserve the nail-parings and hair that had been cut and pulled out. When asked why they did this, an Inca replied: "Know that all persons who are born must return to life and the souls must rise out of their tombs with all that belonged to their bodies. We, therefore, in order that we may not have to search for our hair and nails at a time when there will be much hurry and confusion, place them in one place, that they may be brought together more conveniently, and, whenever it is possible, we are also careful to spit in one place."[2]

When the Inca died his palaces were abandoned, and all his treasures, his furniture and apparel, except those buried with him or used at his funeral, were allowed to remain as he left them. The idea in this was that when he returned to the earth he should find all of his things ready for him.

The body of the Inca, after being dried, was taken to the Temple of the Sun where it was placed on a gold throne. It was dressed in gorgeous attire and it sat with head bowed and hands crossed on the breast.

[1] W. H. Prescott, Conquest of Peru, p. 90.
[2] Garcilasso de la Vega, The Royal Commentaries of the Incas, Vol. I, p. 127.

At certain festivals the deceased Incas were taken back to one of their palaces where they were attended by their old guard and servants. Invitations were sent out to all the nobility to be present at a great banquet. Seated near the table was the body of the Inca, and the guests paid the same attention to courtly etiquette as though the living monarch had been there.

Wars. "Notwithstanding the pacific professions of the Incas, and the pacific tendency, indeed, of their domestic institutions, they were constantly at war. It was by war that their paltry territory had been gradually enlarged to a powerful empire. When this was achieved, the capital, safe in its central position, was no longer shaken by these military movements, and the country enjoyed, in a great degree, the blessings of tranquillity and order. But, however tranquil at heart, there is not a reign upon record in which the nation was not engaged in war against the barbarous nations on the frontier. Religion furnished a plausible pretext for incessant aggression, and disguised the lust of conquest in the Incas, probably, from their own eyes, as well as from those of their subjects. Like the followers of Mahomet, bearing the sword in one hand and the Koran in the other, the Incas of Peru offered no alternative but the worship of the Sun or war.

"It is true, their fanaticism — or their policy — showed itself in a milder form than was found in the descendants of the Prophet. Like the great luminary which they adored, they operated by gentleness more potent than violence. They sought to soften the hearts of the rude tribes around them, and melt them by acts of condescension and kindness. Far from provoking hostilities, they allowed time for the salutary example of their own institutions to work its effect, trusting that their less civilized neighbours would submit to their sceptre, from a conviction of the blessings it would secure to them. When this course failed, they employed other measures, but still of a pacific character; and endeavoured by negotiation, by conciliatory treatment, and by presents to the leading men, to win them over to their dominion. In short, they practiced all the arts familiar to the most subtle politician of a civilized land to secure the acquisition of empire. When all these expedients failed, they prepared for war."[1]

The men for the army were drawn from every province; in fact, there was universal military training with drills several times a month.

[1] W. H. Prescott, Conquest of Peru, pp. 70–72.

Ultimately there were so many men in training that there could be put into the field at very short notice two hundred thousand soldiers.

A campaign was led either by the Inca himself or some member of the royal family. The excellent roads made traveling from one part of the Empire to another very easy, and along all of the main routes constant provision was made for the accommodation of the soldiers. At regular intervals there were large warehouses filled with grain from the store of the Inca together with weapons and other munitions of war.

"The Peruvian soldier was forbidden to commit any trespass on the property of the inhabitants whose territory lay in the line of march. Any violation of this order was punished with death. The soldier was clothed and fed by the industry of the people, and the Incas rightly resolved that he should not repay this by violence. Far from being a tax on the labors of the husbandman, or even a burden on his hospitality, the imperial armies traversed the country, from one extremity to the other, with as little inconvenience to the inhabitants, as would be created by a procession of peaceful burghers, or a muster of holiday soldiers for a review.

"From the moment war was proclaimed, the Peruvian monarch used all possible expedition in assembling his forces, that he might anticipate the movements of his enemies, and prevent a combination with their allies. It was, however, from the neglect of such a principle of combination, that the several nations of the country, who might have prevailed by confederated strength, fell one after another under the imperial yoke. Yet, once in the field, the Inca did not usually show any disposition to push his advantages to the utmost, and urge his foe to extremity. In every stage of the war, he was open to propositions for peace; and although he sought to reduce his enemies by carrying off their harvests and distressing them by famine, he allowed his troops to commit no unnecessary outrage on person or property. 'We must spare our enemies,' one of the Peruvian princes is quoted as saying, 'or it will be our loss, since they and all that belongs to them must soon be ours.' It was a wise maxim, and, like most other wise maxims, founded equally on benevolence and prudence. The Incas adopted the policy claimed for the Romans by their countryman, who tells us that they gained more by clemency to the vanquished than by their victories.

"In the same considerate spirit, they were most careful to provide for the security and comfort of their own troops; and, when a war was long protracted, or the climate proved unhealthy, they took care to relieve their men by frequent reinforcements, allowing the earlier recruits to return to their homes."[1]

After a country had been conquered the first step was to introduce to the people the worship of the Sun. In order to do this, temples were built and priests were sent with instructions, to dazzle and awe the people by the beauty and wonder of the ceremonies. But the gods of the conquered were not dishonored but were taken to Cuzco and put in the temples of the lesser deities. They remained there as hostages, for the conquered peoples would not be willing to desert the Incas, thereby leaving their gods in the hands of the enemies.

"Immediately after a recent conquest, the curacas and their families were removed for a time to Cuzco. Here they learned the language of the capital, became familiar with the manners and usages of the court, as well as with the general policy of government, and experienced such marks of favor from the sovereign as would be most grateful to their feelings, and might attach them most warmly to his person. Under the influence of these sentiments, they were again sent to rule over their vassals, but still leaving their eldest sons in the capital, to remain there as a guaranty for their own fidelity, as well as to grace the court of the Inca."[2]

"Yet little less remarkable was another device of the Incas for securing the loyalty of their subjects. When any portion of the recent conquests showed a pertinacious spirit of disaffection, it was not uncommon to cause a part of the population, amounting, it might be, to ten thousand inhabitants or more, to remove to a distant quarter of the kingdom, occupied by ancient vassals of undoubted fidelity to the crown. A like number of these last was transplanted to the territory left vacant by the emigrants. By this exchange, the population was composed of two distinct races, who regarded each other with an eye of jealousy, that served as an effectual check on any mutinous proceeding."[3]

Laws. "The laws were few and exceedingly severe. They related almost wholly to criminal matters. Few other laws were needed by

[1] W. H. Prescott, Conquest of Peru, pp. 75–76.
[2] Ibid. p. 79. [3] Ibid. p. 81.

a people who had no money, little trade, and hardly anything that could be called fixed property. The crimes of theft, adultery, and murder were all capital; though it was wisely provided that some extenuating circumstances might be allowed to mitigate the punishment. Blasphemy against the Sun, and malediction of the Inca, — offences, indeed, of the same complexion, — were also punished with death. Removing landmarks, turning the water away from a neighbour's land into one's own, burning a house, were all severely punished. To burn a bridge was death. The Inca allowed no obstacle to those facilities of communication so essential to the maintenance of public order. A rebellious city or province was laid waste, and its inhabitants exterminated. Rebellion against the 'Child of the Sun' was the greatest of all crimes."[1]

A pecuniary fine was never imposed, nor were a man's goods confiscated, "because," as they said, "to do so was not to rid the commonwealth of an evil, but only to deprive an evildoer of his property, leaving him with liberty to do more evil."

[1] W. H. Prescott, Conquest of Peru, pp. 44–45.

THE YELLOW RACE

CHAPTER XXIII

TIBETANS

Geography. "Tibet is geographically, roughly speaking, that section of central Asia which extends between the 76° and 102° of east longitude, from the 28° to 36° of north latitude, and with the exception of its extreme western, southwestern and southern portions, it forms an integral portion of the Chinese Empire."[1] It is the highest country in the world, comprising table-lands averaging over 16,500 feet above the sea, the valleys being at 12,000 to 17,400 feet, and the peaks at 20,000 to 24,600 feet. "In the north, Tibet is composed of high plateaux, intersected by numerous chains of mountains running from east to west, a bleak arid country, either desert or inhabited by a scattered population of nomads. To the south of these pastoral tribes, and then only in the larger valleys, live a sedentary people who cultivate the soil."[2] It is bounded on the north by Turkestan, on the east by China, on the west by Kashmir and Ladakh, and on the south by India, Nepal, and Bhutan. It has an area of over 1,000,000 square miles and an estimated population of about 3,000,000.

Climate. The climate of Tibet varies so greatly over the enormous area and different altitudes of the country that no two travelers agree precisely in their records. In western Tibet intense dryness pervades the atmosphere during nine months of the year; but little snow falls, and the western passes are often traversable during the entire year. Low temperatures are prevalent throughout these western regions; their bleak desolation is unrelieved by the existence of trees or vegetation of any size, and the wind sweeps unchecked across vast expanses of arid plain. The central lake region is also characterized by extreme dryness in autumn, winter, and spring, with an abundance of rain in the summer, whilst the eastern mountain region is subject

[1] W. W. Rockhill, "Notes on the Ethnology of Tibet," in United States National Museum Report for 1893, p. 670.

[2] W. W. Rockhill, Tibet, the Land of the Lamas, p. 2. Courtesy of The Century Co.

to much the same climatic influences as the eastern Himalayas. The southern slopes of the Dangla are deluged with rain, hail, and snow throughout the year. Northern Tibet is an arid waste, subject to intense heat in the summer and intense cold in the winter. The climate of southern Tibet is subject to considerable modifications from that of the northern and central regions, owing doubtless to its geographical connection with northern India. Here, at an elevation of

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A MONASTERY IN TIBET

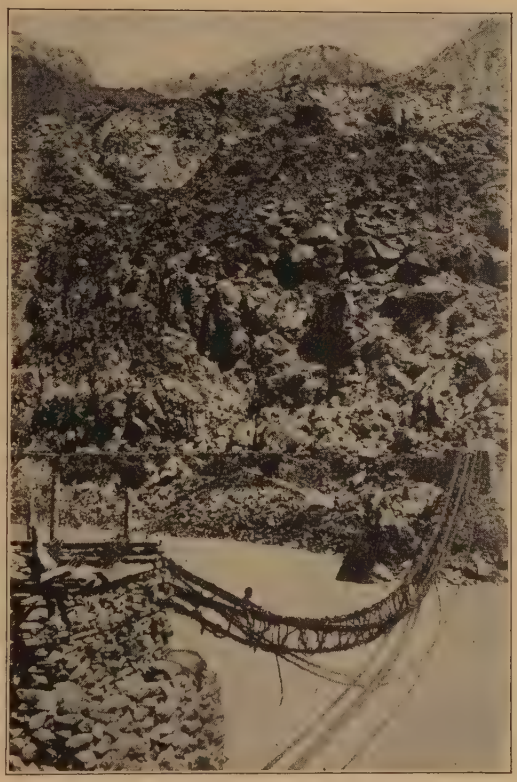
Photograph by F. R. Wulsin

fifteen thousand feet, well-built villages have grown up and richly cultivated fields of barley have been planted.

The people of Tibet. The people of Tibet probably belong to the Turko-Mongol branch of the human race. They are divided between the nomadic tent-dwellers, called Drukpa or Drupa, living in the lake region of the north and northwest and in the transitional zone between it and the river region, and the settled sedentary population of the valleys. The Dopka are more Mongolian in type than are the more settled people, who show much mixture with outside races.

"These become more Chinese as one goes toward China, or more Indian as one travels southward or westward. The reason of the very

pronounced departure of this portion of the present Tibetan population from its original type is easily accounted for in the custom of foreign traders, soldiers, pilgrims, or officials inhabiting the country, of never bringing their wives into Tibet, but taking native concubines, a custom, by the way, common in most parts of Asia. In as small a population as that of Tibet, where the principal centers of population are and have been inhabited by comparatively large numbers of foreigners for several centuries at least, this profound alteration of the primitive type is easily accounted for in this manner."[1]



A WICKER BRIDGE, TIBET
Courtesy of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University

Physical features of the people. Among the Drupa Tibetans the males measure five feet five inches; the females, not appreciably less. The head is brachycephalic; the hair on the head, when worn, is black and invariably wavy; the beard is thin; the mustache is usually pulled out with tweezers; there is almost no hair on the chest and limbs. The eyes are clear brown or hazel; the zygomatic arches are high, but not as high as the Mongol's; the nose is thick, sometimes depressed at the root, in other cases prominent, even aquiline, though the nostrils are broad; the ears, with fairly large lobes, stand out from the head, but to a less degree than with

[1] W. W. Rockhill, "Notes on the Ethnology of Tibet," in United States National Museum Report for 1893, p. 674.

the Mongols; the mouth is broad; the lips are not full and among the people of the lower altitudes are decidedly thin. The shoulders are broad, the arms normal; the legs are not well developed, the calf being especially small. The foot is large and the hand coarse.

TIBETAN PEASANTS

The man in front has a prayer wheel in his hand. (Courtesy of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University)

The women are usually stouter than the men, and their faces are much fuller. They are as strong as the men, perhaps even stronger, because their muscles, obliged to do hard work from childhood, are more fully developed than those of the men, who neither carry water on their backs, work at the looms, nor tend the cattle. The women's hair is long and coarse but not very thick, and in old age it is sprinkled with white hairs.

There is very little if any perceptible odor about the Tibetan's person, save that which is readily traced to dirty clothes. Partial baldness in both sexes is not uncommon. They keep their heads tolerably clean by frequently anointing their hair and scalps with butter, but vermin are common among them, and it is a very common sight to see a number of them crouching before their house in the sun, cleaning the head of a husband, child, or a friend; all captives belong to the original owner, who eats them with relish. Washing the body is hardly ever performed, except involuntarily when fording a stream or when drenched by the rain.[1]

[1] W. W. Rockhill, "Notes on the Ethnology of Tibet," in United States National Museum Report for 1893, p. 675.

The Tibetans can endure exposure without any apparent inconvenience. In the coldest weather — and that is very cold — they will slip the upper part of their bodies out of their sheepskin gowns in order to perform their work with a greater degree of freedom. The women do nearly all their work with the right side of the body completely exposed, and they put no clothes on very small children, except in the coldest weather, allowing them to go about naked or with only a pair of boots on.

They can endure hunger also, and are at all times light eaters. They eat a little whenever they drink their tea, staving off recurrently the pangs of hunger, but they never take a hearty meal. They can with ease travel for long periods on starvation rations.

A TIBETAN WITH A PRAYER TRUMPET
Courtesy of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University

Character of the people. The character of the Tibetans is described by Father Desgodins, who lived for many years among them.

"It appears to me that the Tibetan, no matter who he may be, is essentially a slave to human respect. If he believes you great, powerful, and rich, there is nothing he will not do to obtain your good will, your favors, your money, or even a simple mark of your approval. If he has only something to hope for, he will receive you with all the signs of the most profound submission or of the most generous cordiality, according to circumstances, and will make you interminable compliments, using the most fulsome and the most honied expressions that the human mind has been able to invent. In this line he

might give points to the most accomplished flatterer of Europe. If, on the contrary, he thinks you of low station, he will only show you stiffness, or, at the most, formal, unwilling politeness. Should your fortune change, have you become a beggar in his eyes, abandoned and without authority, he at once turns against you, treats you as a slave, takes the side of your enemies, without being ashamed at the remembrance of his former protestations of devotion and friendship, without listening to the dictates of gratitude. He is a slave toward the great, a despot to the small, whoever they may be, dutiful or treacherous, according to circumstances, looking always for some way to cheat, and lying shamelessly to attain his end; in a word, naturally and essentially a false character. Such is, I think, the Tibetan of the cultivated countries of the south, who considers himself much more civilized than the shepherd or herdsman of the north, with whom I have had but little intercourse, and of whom I do not pretend to draw the portrait.

A TIBETAN RELIGIOUS MENDICANT WITH A PRAYER WHEEL

Photograph by the late Brigadier General C. G. Rawling

"One readily understands that with such a character, with dissolute habits, the Tibetan becomes easily cruel and vindictive. Often discussion, begun in laughter and usually while drinking, ends with drawn knives. If he has not appeased his anger, he never forgives. Revenge alone can pacify him, if he believes himself insulted. But he does not show it at first. On the contrary, he affects to live on good terms with his enemy. He invites him, trades in preference with him, but he will put a ball in his chest after a good dinner, during which he has shown himself most friendly and has sworn the other lasting friendship.

"Such are the principal faults of the Tibetan. What are his virtues? I believe his mind is instinctively religious, and this leads him to willingly perform certain external devotional practices and even to go on long and trying pilgrimages, which cost him, however, but little money. As to religious convictions, he has absolutely none, a result of the profound ignorance in which the lamas leave the people, either on account of their incapacity to teach them, or perhaps so as to keep the business of worship in their own hands, as it insures them a large revenue. The religious acts of the people are only performed through routine; they do not understand them or care to understand them; hence ignorance in the lower classes, scepticism and indifference in the others, principally among the mandarins and lamas. The Tibetan's other virtues are nearly all material ones, if I may use such an expression; thus, he bears with ease and for long periods cold, fatigue, hunger, and thirst; but if he finds good compensation for his sufferings, he will never overlook it. He is generally active, but less industrious than the Chinese, and arts have advanced much less in Tibet than in China. While at work, he sings without a care; at a feast, he goes gossiping about and drinking with his friends; he sings, dances, and drinks during the night without a recollection of the sorrows of the day before, or without thinking of the cares of the morrow. Such is the Tibetan as I have known him."[1]

Self-maintenance. "The food of the tent-dwelling Tibetans consists principally of tea and barley. The latter they buy from the agricultural Tibetans in exchange for butter, hides or wool. The grain is parched in a pan and winnowed, when most of the husk falls off; after this it is ground in a small quern, when it is ready for use. . . . Tea is, however, the principal article of food among all Tibetans. It is not simply the beverage, but the food of this people, for it is nearly invariably taken mixed with butter and barley, and the leaves are not infrequently eaten."[2]

The tea is made into bricks before it is sold, and in some parts is the standard of the monetary system. In preparing the beverage

[1] C. H. Desgodins, Le Thibet, pp. 251–253, quoted by W. W. Rockhill in "Notes on the Ethnology of Tibet," United States National Museum Report for 1893, pp. 676–677.

[2] W. W. Rockhill, "Notes on the Ethnology of Tibet," in United States National Museum Report for 1893, pp. 702–703.

from these bricks, the Tibetans first reduce the brick to a powder in a mortar, then put this powder in a kettle of hot water, which they allow to boil for about five minutes. Sometimes it is drunk at this stage of its preparation, either clear or with the addition of milk, but usually it is strained into a tea churn, into which is also put a piece of butter and a little barley. It is then churned and finally poured into a teapot of metal or pottery. Each person takes from the bosom of his gown a small wooden bowl, a little tea is sprinkled to the four cardinal points as an offering to the gods, and the bowls are then filled.

"Taking with his fingers a chunk of butter from a sheep's paunch in which it is kept, or from a wooden butter box, the drinker lets it melt in his bowl, drinking the while some of the tea, and blowing the melted butter to one side. When but a little tea is left in the bottom of the bowl, a handful of barley is added and the tea, butter and meal are deftly worked into a ball with the right hand, the bowl being meanwhile slowly turned around in the left. The resulting lump of brown dough, which is of a rather agreeable taste, if the butter is not too rancid, is then eaten and enough tea is drunk to wash down the sodden lump. When dried cheese is eaten, it is first soaked in tea and then eaten with buttered tea and barley. . . . If one eats anything, such as sour milk, which may soil the bowl, it is customary to lick the bowl clean before putting it back into the gown. . . .

"The Tibetans have no regular meals, but since the teakettle is always kept full they can eat when they are hungry. People like the lamas, who are continually reading the sacred books, and others who are steadily employed during the day, keep near them a pot of tea on a heap of hot ashes or on a little brazier. Throughout Tibet it is not uncommon to now and then find poor people reduced to using a substitute for tea — chips of wood, roasted pease, or willow leaves, anything, in fact, which can impart a little color and slight astringent taste to their drink."[1]

Pork is never eaten by the tent-dwelling Tibetans, though it is used to a great extent by the people of central and eastern Tibet, but mutton and yak flesh form the greater part of the meat food. The sheep-raising Tibetans export much frozen mutton, and they them-

[1] W. W. Rockhill, "Notes on the Ethnology of Tibet," in United States National Museum Report for 1893, pp. 703–705.

selves consume large quantities of dried mutton. Such vegetables as cabbage, dried turnips, radishes, potatoes, peas, and beans are eaten in small quantities, but of all foods they prefer tea and barley.

Agriculture. Where agriculture is practiced, the only implements available are a wooden hoe and a rude plow without even a share, which is drawn by a yak. One man leads the animal, and another guides the plow. They irrigate the fields, the water frequently being carried a long distance across valleys in hollowed logs supported on light trestles. The fields are fenced in with brush, poles, or stone walls.

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TIBETAN AGRICULTURE

Industrial organization. "In all parts of Tibet, whether among the pastoral tribes or in the towns and villages, the women not only do most of the household work, but they attend to much of the bartering, make the butter, assist in milking the cows and looking after the flocks. The men, aided by the women, work in the fields, or go on distant journeys, hiring out their yaks or mules to carry freight, or hiring themselves out as mule or yak drivers to merchants or to some neighboring lamasery. Those who remain in their town or village sometimes follow a trade which occupies them during a small portion of their time. Some are smiths, working silver, copper or iron, and, when needs be, becoming carpenters, gunsmiths or locksmiths; others, again, occupy themselves, when industriously

inclined, twisting yarn, weaving garters, or making felt. In the towns nearly all shops are kept by women.

"Although the division of labor between the sexes is very unequal, much of the greater part devolving upon the women, the position of that sex is not affected injuriously thereby. The wife's opinion is always asked in household matters and in questions of trade, and her authority in the house is supreme. She joins with the men in all discussions with perfect freedom and assurance, and in nearly every walk of life she is held to be on a footing of perfect equality by the male sex."[1]

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A TIBETAN WOMAN MAKING PAPER

Dwellings. The dwellings of the Tibetans are of two kinds—the tent and the stone hut. Tents made of yak-hair felt are inhabited by the pastoral tribes, but the agriculturists occupy the more permanent habitations. The tents are rectangular and have a flat roof. They vary in length from ten to fifty feet, but all of them have along the center of the roof a hole about two feet wide to admit light and to let the smoke escape. Under this is a ridgepole, supported at each end by vertical posts. The roof is fastened by long ropes, which stretch to the ground. To keep off the wind and snow the inmates build a low wall of mud and stones or of dry dung around the outside of the tent or, when large enough, inside it.

"In the center of the tent is a long, narrow stove made of mud and stones, with a fireplace in one end and a flue passing along its whole length, so that several pots may be kept boiling at the same time. Around the walls of the tents are piled up leather bags in which the occupants keep their food; also saddles, pieces of felt, and innumerable odds and ends, of which only the owner knows the

[1] W. W. Rockhill, "Notes on the Ethnology of Tibet," in United States National Museum Report for 1893, p. 682.

value and use. A small stone or birch wood mortar for pounding tea, a wooden tea churn about two feet high — made of a hollow log and hooped with wood, or out of a joint of bamboo, which are, in some parts, used also to churn butter in — a few small dirty wooden milk pails with handles of plaited yak hair, a log or two of wood roughly squared, and which takes the place of tables, and a small quern are the principal articles of furniture in these tents."[1]

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A TIBETAN VILLAGE WITH A MONASTERY IN THE BACKGROUND

The houses of the agricultural peoples are made of limestone or shaly rock, the surfaces of which are covered with a coating of mud or plaster. A large gateway with heavy double doors leads into the courtyard, around which are the buildings and sheds. These houses are also two-storied, a notched log of wood set against the wall serving as a ladder to reach the upper story. The roof of the first floor, which is made of mud and rests on heavy rafters, acts as a gallery to reach the upper one. Holes are left in this so that the smoke can escape from the rooms below, and in the case of inside rooms these holes are the only means by which light is admitted. When there are windows they are merely openings about three feet square in the walls, without any means of keeping out the wind and cold, except

[1] W. W. Rockhill, "Notes on the Ethnology of Tibet," in United States National Museum Report for 1893, p. 702.

in the finest houses, where heavy boards sliding in grooves are used to close them. There is practically no furniture. Sometimes a log of wood, roughly squared and lying near the hearth, is used to place one's cup upon, but as a rule even this crude table is lacking. Some of the houses contain small stoves on which kettles boil over a dung fire; in others, there are large, open hearths.

"The simplicity of the nomad is found in all the appointments of the agricultural Tibetan's home. In many of the houses there are not more than two or three four-walled rooms, all the rest of the building consisting of covered galleries opening on the courtyard. These have the great advantage of being better lighted and more airy than rooms, yet hardly colder; they are also freer from vermin, with which one is fearfully tormented everywhere in Tibet, fleas especially swarming. The ground floor of all of these houses is used as a horse stable, as is often the case in mountainous and cold countries (Switzerland, for example), and every house is provided with well arranged latrines. It is probable that the heat from the horses, which is sufficient to raise the temperature of the room over their stable, suggested the idea of having them under the dwelling-room."[1]

Dress and ornament. The national dress of both sexes consists of a very full, high-collared, large, and long-sleeved gown, of sheepskin in winter and of native cloth in summer. It is tied tightly around the waist with a woolen girdle so as to make it very baggy. As worn by men, it reaches to the knees; as worn by women, to the ankles. Over a large part of the country this is the only garment worn. The collar and cuffs and hems are sometimes faced with black velvet, with red or blue cloth, or with otter or leopard skin. High boots complete the costume.

The men shave their heads, but the women braid their hair into numerous pigtails. Men's hats vary from a low cap of cloth to one made of fur, or to one resembling the hats worn by the women in Wales.

Most of the men have a large silver ring set with turquoise and coral beads in the left ear, and the women wear heavy pendants in each ear. Around their necks the men and women wear charm boxes made of wood, silver, copper, or leather, in which they carry charms

[1] W. W. Rockhill, Tibet, the Land of the Lamas, pp. 192–194. Courtesy of The Century Co.

against the various accidents that may overtake them. Both sexes wear rings made of gold or silver and set with turquoise or coral beads. Most of the ornaments worn by the women are put into the hair, and include bright bits of cloth, coral and glass beads, and silver bands.

Marriage. In some portions of western Tibet "marriage by capture" still survives. When the bridegroom and his friends go to bring the bride from her father's house, they are met by a party of the bride's friends and relatives, who stop the path. A very rough sham fight ensues, in which the bridegroom and his friends are given a sound beating with thick switches before they are allowed to pass.

"In other parts of Tibet the preliminaries of marriage are very similar to those of China. Go-betweens on the part of the man make overtures to the family of the girl, and if these are well received, astrologers are consulted to see whether the horoscope of the man and woman do not antagonize each other, and if the good and evil of the life of the male harmonizes in the calculation with those of the life of the female, longevity is counted upon. If not, the happiness of the couple will be short-lived."[1]

A man frequently has to pay as much as three hundred sheep, ten horses, and ten yak for a fine-looking bride, so the parents of two or three pretty and clever girls are sure of making their fortune.

The marriage ceremony takes place at the house of the groom. When the bride enters, the mother of the groom presents her with barley mixed with butter and a jar of milk. The whole party then sits down to dinner, which is supplied by the groom and his friends. When it is finished, the priest gives the bride a new name, and she is presented with a piece of wool by the groom. This she twists into a thread as the sign of the first work of a harmonious union. Before the departure of the bride's family, both parties sing repartee songs together.

In some parts of Tibet polyandry prevails. The elder brother chooses a wife, and he and the younger brothers possess her in common. Whatever may have been the origin of this, there can be little doubt that poverty and the desire to keep down population and to keep property undivided in families supply sufficient reasons

[1] W. W. Rockhill, "Notes on the Ethnology of Tibet," in United States National Museum Report for 1893, p. 725.

to justify its continuance. Perhaps the property reason is the most important. "The tillable lands are of small extent and are all under cultivation so it is extremely difficult for any one to add to his fields, which as a general rule produce only enough to support one small family. If at the death of the head of the family the property was divided among the sons, there would not be enough to supply the wants of all of them, if each had a wife and family. Moreover, the paternal abode would not accommodate them. . . . The only solution of the problem in this case was for the sons of a family to take one wife among them, by which means their ancestral estate remained undivided, and they also saved considerable money."[1]

Pleasures. Horse-racing is a favorite pastime of the Tibetans, but they do not understand this amusement as we do, confining themselves to showing off their horses and themselves in their finest trappings, or else racing by twos or threes, but not for a purse or any reward.

"Singing, a pastime of which they are very fond, is not much more agreeable to the foreign ear than is that of the Chinese or Japanese, though the Tibetans' voices are often full and sweet, and there is frequently a perceptible tune in their songs.

"Dancing is also a favorite amusement, especially in the spring of the year, when the girls go in large parties and dance on the soft green grass under the trees, the young men forming appreciative spectators. The dances can hardly be called graceful; two groups formed, and while one stood still, the other, to the music of their own singing, danced slowly backward and forward, swaying their bodies and taking high, slow steps. Then the other group had their turn, and so the dance went on by the hour."[2]

There are many story-tellers. These wander from place to place, reading to the people, who are unable to do so for themselves, from the literature of the country. Where possible they act out the story which they are reading or telling, and this forms the nearest approach that the people have to dramatic representation. There are, however, mummers, mostly boys, who, with hideous masks on their heads, dance a grotesque dance. At the same time they sing a song which praises in the most fulsome way the person before whom they are dancing, with the hope that they may be well paid.

[1] W. W. Rockhill, Tibet, the Land of the Lamas, p. 211. Courtesy of The Century Co.
[2] Ibid. p. 247.

Religion. Buddhism was introduced into Tibet in the seventh century of the Christian Era, and since that time has been the religion of the country. In its present form, however, it is difficult to find any of the simplicity which characterized its earlier forms, for demonology and mysticism have become the important features. The priests of this religion are called lamas, and hence it comes about that the peculiar form of Buddhism held by the Tibetans is known as Lamaism.

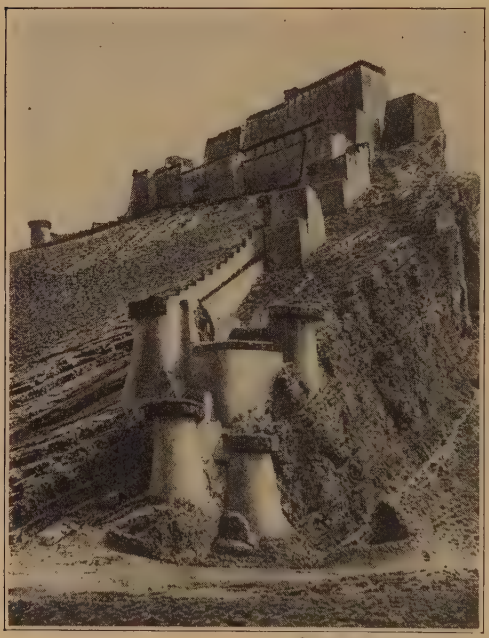
A TIBETAN DEVIL DANCE
Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York

The lamas play an important part in the life of the people, for not only are they the religious leaders, but they also wield great temporal power. "In their hands is nearly all the wealth of the land, acquired by trading, donations, money-lending and bequests. Their landed property is frequently enormous; their serfs and bondsmen swarm."[1] If they are not able to carry out their wishes by peaceful means, they do not hesitate to take upon themselves the attitude of the Knights Templar. "The large lamaseries are rather fortified camps than the abodes of peace-loving Buddhist monks; every lama is well-armed, well-mounted, and always ready for the fray, whether it be to resist the local chiefs or the Chinese, or to attack a rival lamasery."[2]

[1] W. W. Rockhill, Tibet, the Land of the Lamas, pp. 215–216. Courtesy of The Century Co. [2] Ibid. p. 216.

Although the Tibetans are a very religious people, yet they have few ceremonies of a religious character in their daily life. One of the commonest is the evening prayer.

"As night falls, lamps are lit on the altars of every Buddhist temple, and a short service is chanted, while lamas seated on the porch play a rather mournful hymn on long coffer horns and clarinets. This is the signal for the housewives to light bundles of aromatic juniper boughs in the ovens made for the purpose on the roofs of their houses, and as the fragrant smoke ascends to heaven, they sing a hymn or litany in which the men of the house often join."[1]



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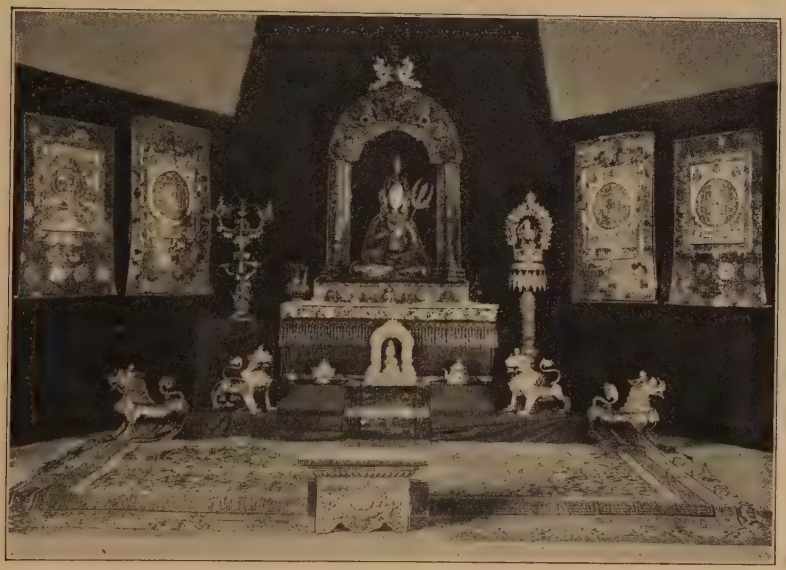
A FORTIFIED LAMASERY

"It is a universal custom among this people, before eating or drinking anything, to dip the forefinger of the right hand in it and scatter a little of the contents toward the four cardinal points, reciting a short prayer the while. This and the mumbling of the many prayers or some special formula given them by a lama are practically the only religious observances of the people. It is no uncommon thing to pass a family established under a tent in a locality where shaly stones are abundant, every member busily occupied incising on slabs of rock the sacred formula and building up after months, perhaps years of labor a *mani woll*, each stone in it having the prayer sculptured on it and frequently carefully painted. Others will shape the letters composing the prayer with blocks of white stones on some far-seen mountain side, giving them such huge dimensions that they can be read four or five miles away.

[1] W. W. Rockhill, Tibet, the Land of the Lamas, p. 248. Courtesy of The Century Co.

"Small stones on which the prayer is sculptured are continually offered to one by beggars, who are paid for them by a handful of *tsamba* or a little tea, and a person of any respectability never dreams of refusing to buy all offered to him, placing them along the walls of his house, or else on the nearest mani wall."[1]

Most of the Tibetans possess prayer wheels. These wheels consist of circular pieces of metal with a handle on the bottom by means of



A TIBETAN ALTAR

Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York

which the wheel can be revolved. Inside this metal ring are placed yards and yards of paper, on which are written numerous prayers. When a man is feeling especially religious and desires to store up for himself much credit in the next world, he revolves the wheel. A prayer is supposed to ascend for each revolution, so that in a short time a person has thousands of prayers to his credit. This is a most convenient mode of praying, for one may do it while walking along the street or even while visiting friends.

Death and funerals. "The old are but little respected, and it often occurs that a son kills his father when he has become a burden to

[1] W. W. Rockhill, Tibet, the Land of the Lamas, pp. 248–250. Courtesy of The Century Co.

him. It also frequently happens that when a person is dying, a relative or friend asks him, 'Will you come back or will you not?' If he replies that he will, they pull a leather bag over his head and smother him; if he says he will not, he is allowed to die in peace. The probable explanation of this custom is a fear that the spirit of the dead will haunt its former abode.

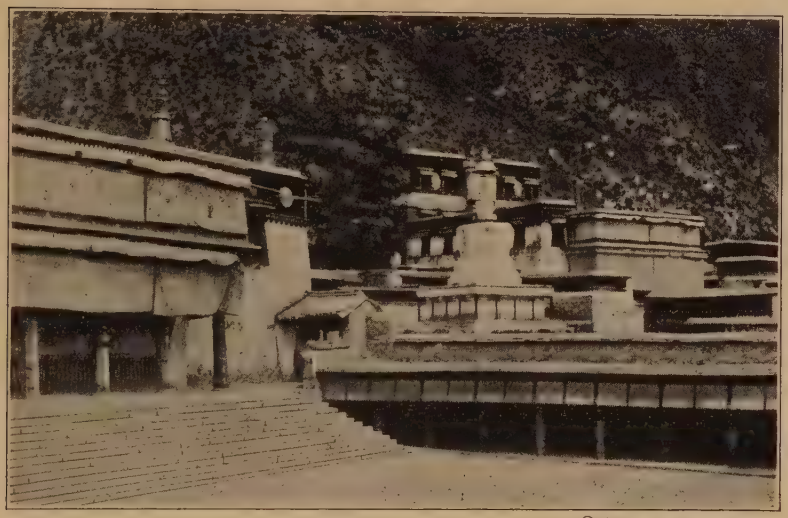
"The remains of the dead are exposed on the hillsides in spots selected by lamas; if the body is rapidly devoured by wild beasts and birds of prey, the righteousness of the deceased is held to be evident, but if it remains a long time undevoured, his wickedness is proved. . . .

A BUDDHIST PRAYER WHEEL AND SHRINE
Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York

"No funeral services take place before the crops have been gathered, except in the case of very poor people, whose corpses are thrown into the streams at once after death. All those whose bodies are to be disposed of by cremation or by being fed to the birds or dogs are put in wicker baskets, well salted, and kept until the time of the funeral. In the case of the bodies of rich laymen, which have been cremated, the ashes are sometimes collected in a box and a *do-bong* built over it, but generally they are left on the spot where the cremation took place. When the body is to be devoured by dogs and birds of prey, the usual method is to lay the naked corpse on the ground, fastening it by a rope to a stake so that it cannot be dragged about. But there is another, more desirable mode sometimes followed, as was done some years ago with the body of the 'living Buddha' at Lit'ang. This was carried out of the lamasery on a stretcher which was followed by the abbot and his 3,500 monks. Many of the latter had human jaw-bones fastened to their left arms, and skull bowls

hanging from their sides. The procession marched slowly to the top of a hill outside the town; the corpse was laid on the ground, and the abbot took his seat on a stone near-by. Then some lamas stripped the flesh off the body, commencing with the arms, and handed the pieces to the abbot.

"These he held at arm's length in the air, when vultures, which were sailing around in expectation of the feast, swooped down and



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DETAIL OF A MONASTERY IN TIBET

Photograph by F. R. Wulsin

snatched them from his hand. In this manner all but the bones were disposed of; then these were pounded into a pulp, and the abbot mixed this with tsamba in his eating bowl, and fed the balls thus made to the birds, reserving for his own private delectation the last ball of the unsavory mess. With this the ceremonies were at an end. This form of obsequies, known as 'celestial interment,' is the most esteemed."[1]

Government. "Politically Tibet may be divided into three parts: (1) Country under direct Lh'asan rule or influence; (2) country under Chinese rule or influence; (3) country under British or other rule or influence. The first part comprises all central, western and most

[1] W. W. Rockhill, Tibet, the Land of the Lamas, pp. 81, 286–287. Courtesy of The Century Co.

of the northern portions of the country. The second part includes all northeastern Tibet, most of the eastern, and a long narrow strip called Jyadé. The third part includes Sikkim, Bhutan and Ladak."[1]

The spiritual and temporal ruler of the kingdom of Lh'asa is called Talé Lama, and is an incarnation of the god Shenräzig, the patron saint of the land. Before 1720 the Talé Lama was only spiritual ruler of Tibet, but at that date he was made temporal ruler also by the Chinese. Under him is a regent, called "King of Tibet," who is also a lama, chosen in turn from one of the four great monasteries of Lh'asa. His appointment is made, like that of the Talé Lama and of all other high dignitaries of the state, subject to the approval of the government of China.

The second portion of Tibet, which is under Chinese influence, is ruled over by hereditary chiefs and by the influential headmen of the country who have been appointed by the government. These men receive a yearly payment from China of one hundred ounces of silver, and also have the privilege of sending tribute to Peking, which gives them the right to trade under very favorable conditions.

In the third section the rule is divided between a temporal and a spiritual adviser, both of whom are appointed under approval of the English.

Law and punishment. "There exists no written law for the administration of justice; tradition is the only code followed. Confiscation and fines are the penalties imposed for most crimes and offences, murder not excepted. These fines comprise (1) a sum of money, or a number of bricks of tea, determined according to the social standing of the victim in case of murder, which fine goes to the state; (2) a fixed sum for the family of the victim, nominally to pay for the performance of religious ceremonies for the deceased.

"Among some of the tribes the murderer of a man of the upper class is fined 120 bricks of tea; for the murder of a middle-class man he is fined 80 bricks, for killing a woman 40 bricks, and so on down through the social scale, the murderer of a beggar or a wandering foreigner being fined only a nominal amount, 3 or 4 bricks. In case the victim is a lama, the murderer has often to pay 200 to 300 bricks."[2]

[1] W. W. Rockhill, "Notes on the Ethnology of Tibet," in United States National Museum Report for 1893, p. 680.

[2] W. W. Rockhill, Tibet, the Land of the Lamas, p. 221. Courtesy of The Century Co.

CHAPTER XXIV

YAKUTS

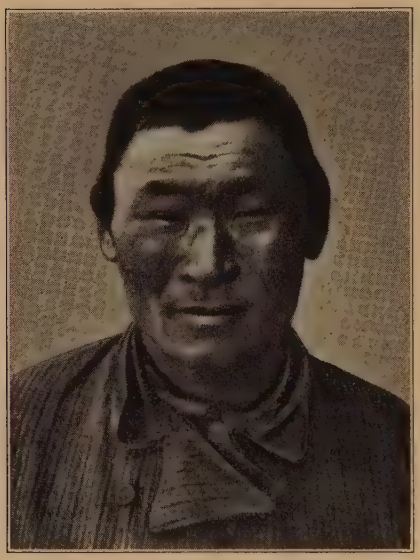
Environment. Yakutsk is a province of eastern Siberia including most of the basin of the river Lena and covering an area of about 1,530,253 square miles, equal to about two fifths the area of the United States without Alaska. It is bounded on the north by the Arctic Ocean, on the west by the provinces of Yeniseisk and Irkutsk, on the south by Irkutsk and Amur, and is separated from the Pacific by the narrow Maritime Province. The southeastern portion of Yakutsk is made up of a plateau 2500 to 3500 feet in height.

"Its moist, elevated valleys, intersected by ranges of flat, dome-shaped hills, which rise nearly one thousand feet above the plateau, form an immense desert of forest and marsh. . . . An alpine country skirts the plateau all along its northwest margin and contains productive gold mines in the spurs between the Vitim and the Lena. The latter stream drains the outer base of this alpine region. It is a wild land, traversed by several chains of mountains, all having a northeast strike, and intersected by deep, narrow valleys, down which the mountain streams tumble uncontrolled. The whole is clothed with dense forests, through which none but the Tunguses can find their way. The summits of the mountains, four thousand to six thousand feet, mostly rise above the limits of tree vegetation, but in no case pass the snow line. The summits and slopes alike are strewn with débris of crystalline rock, mostly hidden under thick incrustations of lichens, amid which the larch alone is able to find sustenance. Birch and aspen grow on the lower slopes; and in the narrow valley bottoms thickets of poplar and willow or patches of grass spring up on the scanty alluvium."[1]

In the southwest there are vast meadows, which are sometimes marshy; farther north mosses and lichens are predominant vegetation and stretch from the meadows to the shores of the ice-bound ocean.

[1] P. A. Kropotkin and J. T. Bealby, in Encyclopædia Britannica, under "Yakutsk."

Climate. This region is colder than any other part of the inhabited globe. At one place the temperature of — 79.5° F. has been observed, and the average temperature for the three winter months is — 53.1° F. At the town of Yakutsk the average temperature in winter is — 40.2° F. and the soil is frozen to a depth of six hundred feet. There are only one hundred and forty-five days when there is no snow on the ground. The river Lena is free from ice only one hundred and sixty-one days of the year. The interval between the latest frost of one season and the earliest frost of the next is thirty-seven days.



A YAKUT MAN

Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York

Physical features. The Yakuts belong to the Turco-Tartar stock which brings them into the Mongoloid division of the human group. They speak a dialect of Turkish with an admixture of Mongolian words. They are middle-sized, with dolichocephalic skulls, very high cheek bones, narrow slanting eyes, and a broad flat nose. The face is diamond-shaped. The hair on the head is black, thick, and long, but there is very little on the face and body.

Self-maintenance. The people are almost entirely in the cattle-raising stage, for the character of the country is such that agriculture can be carried on only to a limited extent.

"The economic unit amongst the Yakuts, taking the whole territory into account, consists of four persons — two grown labourers, one youth, and one boy or old man incompetent to do full work. Ten head of cattle are regarded as indispensable for the maintenance of such a group. Above that norm the Yakuts think that comfort begins, and below it, poverty. In those districts where fish can be obtained as an adjunct, those who have ten head of cattle are well off; but where neither hunting nor fishing offers additional resources,

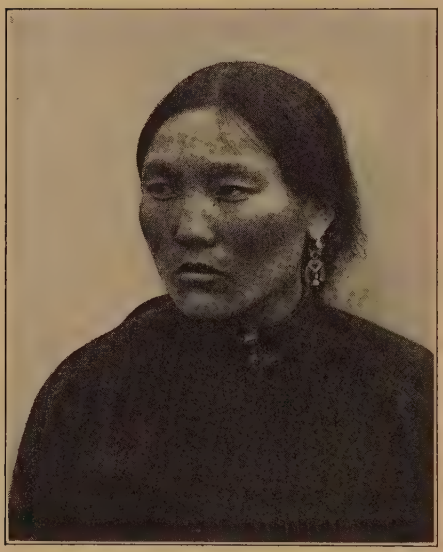
fifteen or twenty head of cattle are indispensable to secure the existence of a family. The latter is the case in the north, on account of the duration of the winter and the badness of the meadows. In the south, where tillage is available as an important subsidiary industry to maintain life, and where it is easy to find wages occupations in winter, the limit of independent means of existence falls to one and a half head of cattle per soul. In spite, therefore, of the wide difference between the absolute amounts of wealth indicated by these limits — from six to twenty head of cattle, that is, from 120 to 400 rubles ($60 to $200) of capital — all the households that are at the limit stand on the verge of distress. The least accident overthrows the security of their existence, and the least subsidiary resource gives them a chance to live and grow. Such households constitute the great mass of the population."[1]

In case a family possess less than one head of cattle per soul they must hire themselves out for wages. "The rate of wages is usually everywhere the same. The men get from 35 to 40 rubles per annum with board, if they are able-bodied mowers; and women who rake, or tend cows, get from 20 to 24 rubles, with board. The rations are determined by custom; those of the men are better than those of the women. Only a small part of the wages is paid in money; generally the employers give wares, sometimes such as the employé does not need and which he must sell at a loss. It is still more customary to pay with cattle, especially with horses, either slaughtered or living. The employers try to keep the employed in debt to themselves, and to this end even encourage them in vice — for instance, in gambling. Often an employer retains a portion of the wages and threatens not to pay it at all if the labourer does not consent to work for him still another year. It is not difficult for rich men to execute such an injustice as this, on account of the power which they possess in all Yakut communities. The scarcity of labourers is the cause of this conduct of the employers, but it also causes them, when once they have hired persons, to treat them well. In families in moderate circumstances, employés are taken in on an equal footing. In the north, even in the richest households, if no strangers are present, the employé sits at the table with the family. He takes part in the

[1] W. G. Sumner, "The Yakuts" (abridged from the Russian of Sieroshevski) in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, Vol. XXXI, p. 65.

conversation and in household proceedings. His intercourse with the members of the family is simple and free from constraint. The Yakuts are generally polite in their intercourse, and do not like haughtiness. Employés expect the customary courtesy."[1]

"The Yakuts dislike to hire themselves out for wages. They return to independence if the least possibility offers. For those who are poor the struggle for independence is so hard that it is useless to talk about their laziness or lack of forethought. If they have less than one and a half head of cattle per soul, they suffer from hunger nearly all their lives. When dying of hunger, they refrain from slaughtering an animal from fear of losing their independence. There are cases in which the authorities have forced people to slaughter their cattle that they might be saved from death by starvation. Hunger periods occur in every year, during which two-thirds of the Yakut population suffer from semi-starvation for a longer or shorter time. This period is not longer than a few weeks for those whose cattle were tolerably well nourished, so that in spring they quickly recovered their vigor, or for those who have such a number of cows that the latter produce calves at different times. The poor, however, suffer hunger for months, during which they live by the alms of their more fortunate neighbours. For them the most interesting subject of conversation is, Whose cow has calved? or, Whose cow will soon do so? Sometimes it happens that all the cows in a certain neighbourhood calve at the same time; then, if there is in that district no tillage, or if the grain



A YAKUT WOMAN

Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York

[1] W. G. Sumner, "The Yakuts" (abridged from the Russian of Sieroshevski) in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, Vol. XXXI, p. 66.

harvest has failed, famine ensues. Poor people when asked how they managed to live through those frightful months said, 'We go to bed and cover ourselves with the coverlet.' They drink brick-tea and a decoction of various herbs, and eat splinters of larch or pine, if they still have a stock of them. They cannot obtain them in winter. No axe could then split the wood, which is frozen to the hardness of stone. Where they plant grain, and the harvest is fair, the circumstances are less stringent. On the whole, therefore, the

YAKUTS PLOWING

Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York

dependence on chance is almost tragical. If things that must be purchased rise in price to the slightest degree, if one neighbour has deceived another, or the merchant has cheated in weight, or if calves have died, any of these incidents come as heavy blows upon the barely established equilibrium of the family budget. A few such blows throw the household into the abyss of debt, from which it rarely, or with great exertion, emerges. Two-thirds of the families are in debt; one half of them for small amounts which can be repaid, but the other half are hopelessly indebted, the debts consuming the income year by year. Even amongst those who are called rich, the expenditure rarely surpasses two or three hundred rubles per year, and this they cannot win without hired labour, because the

care of the herds which are large enough to produce this amount far surpasses the power of an average Yakut family; therefore, only a large one, with well-combined forces, can get along without hired labour. There are but few such families, and any coöperative organization is strange to the Yakuts. They prefer to work individually and at their personal risk and chances."[1]

"In former times, when the chief wealth of the Yakuts consisted in droves of horses, the size and the conditions of subdivision or combination of the *sib* groups [kin-groups] were entirely different. In that distant time we must believe that the consumption on the spot of products which had been obtained from the droves, or from hunting, served as the external condition of the existence and size of a *sib* group. Many traditions point to this fact. For instance, they tell us that if a Yakut slaughters an animal, the viscera, fat, and entrails are divided into portions of different size and worth, and distributed to the neighbours, who having learned that the slaughtering was to take place, generally take turns in visiting the owner. To fail to give any neighbour a share is to make an enemy. To pass anyone over purposely is equivalent to a challenge, and will put an end to friendly relations between families. We are convinced of the antiquity of this custom by tradition, and by its dying out nowadays. That it was a *sib* custom, we are convinced by certain usages at marriages and ceremonies of reconciliation. Distributions of meat are now a part of marriage ceremonies, and the chief dishes served at marriages consist of meat. The formulas of language employed in connection with this use of meat are reminders that the ceremony has created relationships between the participants.

"The strength of this custom was proved by a case observed by the author, who saw the gladness of a good-for-nothing fellow, who up to that time had done nothing but receive large shares, but who suddenly, by chance, drove a fat wild reindeer into a swamp, and so in his turn was enabled to make presents to his neighbours of portions of meat. No comparison would do justice to the self-satisfaction of this individual, when he at last served up the game which he had won. He reserved for himself almost nothing. Other things which

[1] W. G. Sumner, "The Yakuts" (abridged from the Russian of Sieroshevski) in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, Vol. XXXI, p. 67.

are subject to immediate consumption, and can be distributed into small portions, are shared in the same way, especially dainties, like sugar, cookies, or other rarity. Vodka is always divided amongst all who are present, even the children getting a drop. Tobacco also is subject to this custom. It is not degrading but honourable to receive a gift of food from one who is eating, especially if he is an honoured person. It is a violation of etiquette to give little to a rich man and

INTERIOR OF A RICH YAKUT'S HOUSE

Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York

much to a poor man. The opposite is the rule. If one man's cow calves earlier than those of the others, custom requires that he shall share cream and milk with those neighbours who at that time have none."[1]

Houses. "The largest number of settlements contain four or five huts, with twenty or thirty souls. Occasionally one is met with in which there are forty or fifty huts, and some hundreds of souls. The winter houses for the most part stand separately, and at some distance from each other, but near to the hay-stacks. In this detail the

[1] W. G. Sumner, "The Yakuts" (abridged from the Russian of Sieroshevski) in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 68–69.

influence of the later economic system dependent upon hay is to be seen. The summer dwellings, on the other hand, seem to represent more nearly the ancient mode of life. The summer group consists of many huts which stand quite close together, although not apparently in order, but distributed according to the convenience of water and the pleasantness of the place. They are distributed so that the *sibs* stand together, which is probably an ancient feature."[1]

Marriage. "The greatest part of the expense of a wedding falls on the groom. It is an essential part of the payment for the bride. The expense varies from a few rubles to two thousand rubles; the average is perhaps one hundred rubles. This expenditure would be beyond the means of the majority, if it were not that a large part of it comes back under the form of the bride's dower. If the total payment of the groom be divided into its parts, the part spent for the entertainment is spent by the groom without return; but the payment to the parents of the bride, and the gifts to her relatives, are restored in the gift with her. She brings household furniture, garments, silver articles, the stipulated number of mares and cows, corresponding to the number of animals contributed by the groom. She also brings colts and calves voluntarily contributed by her parents and not mentioned in the contract. She also brings gifts in the shape of meat and butter. Each wooden cup which she brings ought to contain a little butter. She also brings one fox skin and nine ermine skins, or at least one ermine skin. This is hung up over the bed where the unmarried women sleep. Later it is carried into the store-house, where it is carefully preserved

YAKUT SUMMER HOUSE

Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York

[1] W. G. Sumner, "The Yakuts" (abridged from the Russian of Sieroshevski) in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, Vol. XXXI, p. 72.

until the first child is born; then they carry it into the wood and give it to the shaman. At any rate it disappears.

"Either under pretence of getting ready the bride's outfit, or on account of her youth and inexperience, the parents do not give their daughter to her husband immediately after the marriage, even if there has been a religious marriage, and the bride-price has been paid, and they have agreed to do this soon. Formerly the delay was often four or five years, and the custom of marrying children, even when very young, existed still earlier. During all the delay, the husband visits his wife at his leisure, but every time he ought to bring a gift to the wife's parents, a quarter or two of meat, a fox skin, or some other present. These gifts are a very unwelcome addition to the bride-price. When the time comes for the bride to go to her husband's house, she is very coldly received by his relatives if she brings less than was expected. If she brings less than was agreed upon, quarrels arise. Often there is a complete rupture, if the marriage has not taken place in church. In the latter case, they boycott her and she suffers all kinds of petty household persecutions which poison her existence.

"The bride-price is shared by the parents, older brothers, uncles, and guardians of the bride, and, in the case of orphan working girls, by the master. Each gets something, be it ever so little, as a recognition of surrender by him of a claim on the woman. Not a single well-bred Yakut girl would consent to go to her husband without a bride-price. She would be degraded in her own eyes and according to the views of her people. It would mean that she was not worth any price, was friendless, or an outcast. It can be understood, therefore, that the Yakut women look down upon the Russian women, who, as they say, pay somebody to take them. Even young widows who have returned to their families are paid for, though at a lower rate than maidens. Older widows who have lived for a time independently with a minor son, or as work-women, marry without a bride-price; but the Yakuts have an original comment on this. They say that 'she wanted to exploit herself,' or they say that she had been paid for once, and that if she married again, nobody loses anything. The author asked one of them, 'Who lost anything when a maiden was married?' 'The parents,' said he. 'They had the trouble and expense of rearing her. They ought to obtain an equivalent for

that. Besides that, they lose a worker out of the house. How is it that you Russians do not understand that?' 'But,' said the author, 'if a son is married, they get nothing, and even give him something.' 'The son is another thing,' was the reply. 'In the first place, his labour produces more for his parents before his marriage, and then he doesn't go away; he remains in the same *sib*; he is our man; he will bear his share of taxes and burdens.' This presents the current view of this matter among them. 'We fed and reared,' they say, 'and others are to get the benefit. We will take something for the expenditure.'"[1]

"To accomplish a betrothal, three male relatives of the groom go on horseback to the house of the desired girl. Upon entering this, they sit down in the place of honour, where they sit talking about different matters, and watching what goes on in the house for one or two days. Then they pack up their things and place them on their horses, and when quite ready to leave on their journey, they return into the house. If the groom has come with them, he now stays outside. The go-betweens sit down again and wait awhile. Then the oldest of them, in silence, throws upon the table the skin of a fox. Then the father of the bride puts on his cap and sits down behind the table in the place where he sits at the wedding, and asks them what they want. They in turn, calling the bride a young mare, or a valuable beast, conduct a negotiation, asking whether she is for sale. When they get an affirmative reply, they agree upon the amount of the bride-price, the dower, the time of the wedding, the time when the groom shall have his wife, the mode of paying the bride-price, and all the details. All is negotiated with great pains in order to avoid future disputes. Then the guests speedily depart. Sometimes fox skins, vodka, and money are left on the table when they go out for the first time; and if, when they return, they see that these things have been taken away, they proceed to negotiate the terms. The bride has a very small share in this negotiation. Sometimes they ask her whether she is willing, but this is a modern innovation. If a man meets with a refusal of the girl he asks for, he usually insists that another shall be given to him in the same house, if there is another there. The Yakuts consider it an injury to meet with a refusal, and especially in the case of a proposal of marriage. They think it im-

[1] W. G. Sumner, "The Yakuts" (abridged from the Russian of Sieroshevski) in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 84–85.

proper to send the go-betweens, under any circumstances whatsoever, within a year to a girl who has given a refusal to a man."[1]

At the time of the wedding the groom with his friends rides to the house of the bride at dawn, leading two horses laden with fresh meat. When they arrive they are received with great ceremony and led into the house. The groom is the last one to enter, and he is put in a chair in a corner of the room, facing the wall. The bride is in the opposite

A YAKUT BRIDE ON HORSEBACK

Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York

corner in a similar position, and they both stay there until the ceremony is over. For three days there are feasting and games in which the bride and groom do not participate.

"It is not until the fourth day, after dinner, that the relatives of the groom prepare to depart for good. When they have mounted their horses, a big wooden cup of kumiss is served to each one of them, and then the whole *cortège* in the same order in which it had arrived, the father of the groom at the head, and the groom last, are escorted by the relatives of the bride around the three hitching posts for horses, which are set in the middle of the court. They go about these posts three times in the course of the sun. Each time, when

[1] W. G. Sumner, "The Yakuts" (adapted from the Russian of Sieroshevski) in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, Vol. XXXI, p. 87.

they have completed a circuit, they stop, and each horseman pours out kumiss from his cup on the mane of his horse. When they have drunk the remainder of the kumiss and returned the cups to the escort, they depart at a gallop through the open gateway. The solemn ceremony is then considered ended, yet this is only half of the wedding. It is true that from that time the bride and groom consider themselves man and wife, but not until the whole bride-price has been paid, that is, sometimes after two or three years, does the

YAKUTS DANCING

Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York

husband conduct his wife to his own house. Then they again celebrate the feasts three days long, in the same manner, the groom sitting again for the whole time in one corner, with his face to the wall, and the bride in another, behind a curtain of soft leather."[1]

Children. The average number of children for each woman is ten, although sometimes they go as high as twenty-two. However, few of the children live, for the conditions of life are so hard that it is difficult to rear more than three or four.

"When a child begins to sit up, which takes place at the end of three months, it is no longer called a baby, but has another class-name. In ancient times they gave it its first name at this point of time; it got a second one when it could draw a bow. Their babies

[1] W. G. Sumner, "The Yakuts" (abridged from the Russian of Sieroshevski) in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, Vol. XXXI, p. 83.

creep at six months, and stand and walk at a year. So after they are six months old, they crawl all over the floor of the house. The Yakuts think that a child which does not understand human language understands the talk of the fire, the singing of the birds, the language of the beasts, lifeless objects and spirits; but that he loses this gift when he acquires human speech. This superstition may be due to the habit of children to stay about the fire, the warmest and pleasantest place in the house, and also the most interesting, where a child stands staring at the flames with his big black eyes and listening to the hissing and snapping of the fire. Their children look the prettiest to Europeans when they are from five to ten years old, because then they are most like our children; but then they are by no means sprightly and enterprising, and they are excessively obedient."[1]

Parents and children. "There is no such thing as any patriarchal relationship, or any deep-rooted or cultivated feeling of respect for the old, amongst the Yakuts. A young Yakut said, 'They not only do not feed, nor honour, nor obey, but they scold and often beat the old people. With my own eyes, I have more than once seen Yakuts, poor and rich, bad and good, beat their fathers and mothers.' They behave especially badly with decrepit and feeble-minded parents. Their chief object in dealing with such is to wrest from them any bits of property they may still retain. Thus, as the old people become more and more defenseless, they are treated worse and worse. It was no better in the ancient times. Force, the coarse force of the fist, or the force of hunger, rules in the modern Yakut family, and seems to indicate the servile origin of that family. Once the author saw how a weak old man of seventy beat with a stick his forty-year-old son, who was in good health, rich, and a completely independent householder, who had just been elected to an office in the *sib*. The son stood quietly and did not even dare to evade the blows, but that man still had an important amount of property at his disposition, and he ruled the family by the fear that he could deprive any recalcitrant one of a share in the inheritance.

"In well-to-do families, where there is a great quantity of cattle, or where the right to large advantages from land, or the possession of well-established trade, provides an opportunity to win from hired

[1] W. G. Sumner, "The Yakuts," (abridged from the Russian of Sieroshevski) in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, Vol. XXXI, p. 80.

labour, and so an important revenue is obtained, independently of personal labour the rule of the father and mother as proprietors, especially the rule of the father, is strengthened and maintained for a long time, namely, to the moment when the old people become decrepit and lose the capacity to comprehend the simplest things. Generally they die before that time. This state of things is maintained by the spread of Russian ideas and laws. In the old-fashioned Yakut family, the economy of which is founded almost entirely on cattle-breeding, and in which constant personal supervision is required, thus making personal strength and initiative indispensable, the moment of the transfer of rule into the hands of the son is reached much earlier. It occurs still earlier in poor families which live exclusively by hand-labour and by the industry of the strongest and best endowed. The old people strive against this tendency in vain. The young people naturally strive to avail themselves as fully as possible of the results of their labour, and as soon as they feel strong enough, they begin to struggle for their rights. The parents are dependent on their sons, who could go away to earn wages. Hence they say, 'It is more advantageous for us Yakuts, in this frozen country of ours, to have many children than to have much money and cattle. Children are our capital, if they are good. It is hard to get good labourers, even for large wages, but a son when he grows up, is a labourer who costs nothing; nevertheless, it is hard to rear children.' The author knew of cases in which wives put up with the presence of mistresses in the house, considering that an inevitable consequence of their own childlessness. The death of children is accepted coldly in populous districts, but in the thinly settled ones is sincerely bewailed. Sometimes they take to drink or to idleness when they have lost children.

"The greatest number of suicides are old people who fear a lonely old age. The treatment they receive fully accounts for this."[1]

Position of men and women. "In a family in which the rights and powers have been reduced to equilibrium, so that all the relations of the members are established, the dominion of the head, whoever he is, over the labour and the property of the members is unlimited. The organization is really servile. Especially pitiful is the position

[1] W. G. Sumner, "The Yakuts" (abridged from the Russian of Sieroshevski) in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 76–77.

of the women, who play no *rôle* in the *sib*, and therefore can expect no protection from anybody. The author advised a woman to appeal to the *sib*, when she complained that her husband exploited her labour and that of her half-grown son: that he was extravagant and wasteful, so that he was likely to reduce them to pauperism. 'The head!' said she, 'how often have I complained to him! he listens and says nothing, and after that my husband is still more quarrelsome and more perverse.' Another woman said, 'The man is the master; it is necessary to obey him; he works abroad and we at home.' This work abroad consists for the most part in taking part in the village assemblies and in constant loafing from house to house. It is true that the man acquires information about wages and prices; but he also keeps to himself the monopoly of all external relations, and even for the absence of any of the housemates without his consent he demands a strict account. To acquire an extra gain, win food or money, or earn something by outside work is considered more desirable than to follow heavy daily labour which would maintain the life of the family from day to day. If the head of the household has grown-up children, the amount of work which he does is insignificant. He works like the others only at the hay-harvest; the rest of the time he wanders about, looking out, it is true, for the external interests of the family to which his care is now restricted, although formerly it extended to the *sib*. Inside the house he is treated with almost slavish respect and consideration. His presence puts an end to cheerfulness, the excuse for which is that he must maintain respect."[1]

Religion. The Yakuts are nominally Christian, although they still cling to many of their old beliefs.

"The Yakuts have a custom of making presents to their acquaintances before death. They give away cattle, chattels, and more rarely, clothing and money. They think that washing the corpse is obligatory; but they put it off till the last thing in order to avoid superfluous trouble and busying themselves unpleasantly with the corpse. The dying person is often dressed in his grave-clothes while still alive. These clothes, even among the poorest people, are kept in store for this purpose; so that they are new or scarcely worn at all. One thing about which the dying Yakut really cares is that some do-

[1] W. G. Sumner, "The Yakuts" (abridged from the Russian of Sieroshevski) in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, Vol. XXXI, p. 78.

mestic animal may be slaughtered immediately after his death, in order that, riding on it, or with it, he may accomplish his journey into the lower world. With this purpose for men, they slaughter oxen and horses, and for women, cows, young ones if the wealth of the deceased admits of a choice, and of course they select by preference beasts of burden on which one can ride, and above all, fat ones. The spirits of the dead will have to drive before them cows and calves with a switch; or to lead them by ropes tied around the horns, which is attended with some inconvenience. Poor people kill the most worthless of the animals which they have. In the north, they often kill reindeer, but whether they kill sledge-dogs, the author does not know; he thinks not. The labourers who make the coffins and dig the graves, the literary persons who read the Psalter over the deceased, and the neighbours who visit the house at this time, are fed with the meat of the slaughtered animals. In the north, where in general all their customs have been better preserved, and where now they are observed with greater accuracy, even the very poorest family try to provide for the funeral feast of a member some animal, even if it is only a sucking calf. Sometimes they sacrifice for this purpose the last miserable cow. . . .

"When the coffin is ready, they put the body in it and cover it over with white cotton cloth. In the left hand they place a passport (they use this word), in order that the ghost may be received into paradise, where it will live as it did on earth. If it had no passport, those of the other world would say to it, 'Friend, you have gone astray,' and it would have to go on beyond the forty-four lands where the demons live. On the third day, in the morning, they either carry the coffin, or place it on an ox, never on a horse, in order to bring it to the grave. Nobody accompanies it but the bearers and the gravedigger, and these make haste to finish their task as quickly as possible and hurry away home. When returning they would not for anything look backwards, but when they come into the gateway of the enclosure, or the door of the house, they themselves go, and they lead the beasts by which the corpse was carried, across a bonfire, lighted by them, built of the chips and shavings left over from the coffin, and also of the straw on which the corpse had lain. The spades, sleigh, and in general all that which was used in any way whatever for the interment, they break up and leave on the grave elevation.

If they bury a child, then they hang up there on a tree his cradle, and they leave there his playthings. Formerly they left on the grave food, furniture, tools, dishes, and other objects indispensable in life. Now that custom has died out. In the north, on the ancient graves, the author often found rusted and broken kettles, knives, spear-points, stirrups, and rings from harnesses and saddles — all broken, punctured and spoiled, with the purpose, as the natives explain, that the dead might not be able with them to harm the living."[1]

The old. "A local tradition is met with that in ancient times if an old person became extremely decrepit, or if anyone became ill beyond the hope of recovery, such person generally begged his beloved children or relatives to bury him. Then the neighbours were called together, the best and the fattest cattle were slaughtered, and they feasted for three days, during which time the one who was to die, dressed in his best travelling clothes, sat in the foremost place, and received from all who were present marks of respect and the best pieces of food. On the third day the relative chosen by him led him into the wood and unexpectedly thrust him into a hole previously prepared. They then left him together with vessels, tools and food, to die of hunger. Sometimes an old man and wife were buried together; sometimes an ox or horse was buried alive with them; and sometimes a saddled horse was tied up to a post set in the ground near by, and left there to die of hunger. This tradition is met with on the Alden River."[2]

Shamans. The shaman, or medicine man, is a very important member of the community, for it is he who is able to protect the people from the influence of the evil spirits. Every shaman must have a tutelary or personal guardian spirit.

"The shamans cure all diseases, but especially such as are mysterious, being nervous affections, such as hysterics, mental derangement, convulsions, and St. Vitus' dance; also impotence, sterility, puerperal fever, etc.; then diseases of the internal organs, especially such as cause the patient to groan, scream, and toss about; then also wounds, broken and decayed bones, headache, inflammation of the eyes, rheumatic fever; besides these also all epidemic diseases and consumption; but this last they treat only with a view to

[1] W. G. Sumner, "The Yakuts" (abridged from the Russian of Sieroshevski) in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 98, 99. [2] Ibid. p. 100.

alleviation, considering it incurable. They refuse to treat diarrhœa, scarlet fever, measles, small-pox, syphilis, scrofula, and leprosy, which they call 'the great disease.' They are specially afraid of small-pox, and take care not to perform their rites in a house where a case of it has recently occurred. They call small-pox and measles 'old women,' and say that they are two Russian sisters dressed in Russian fashion, who go to visit in person those houses where they have marked their victims. All diseases come from evil spirits who have taken possession of men. Methods of cure are always of the same kind, and consist in propitiating or driving away the uninvited guest. The simplest method of cure is by fire. A boy whose wounded finger became inflamed, came to the conclusion, which the bystanders shared, that a *yor* had established itself in the finger. Desiring to drive it out, he took a burning coal and began to apply it around the place while blowing upon it. When the burned flesh began to blister, and then burst with a little crackle, then the curious group which had crowded around him flew back with a cry of terror, and the wounded boy, with a smile of self-satisfaction, said, 'You saw how he jumped out.' A man who had the rheumatism had his body marked all over with deep burnings. As soon as he had any pain, he applied fire to the seat of it."[1]

A YAKUT SHAMAN IN CEREMONIAL DRESS

Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York

[1] W. G. Sumner, "The Yakuts" (abridged from the Russian of Sieroshevski) in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 104–105.

Fire. "The spirit of fire is a grey-haired, garrulous, restless, eternally fussy old man. What he is whispering and shuffling about so perpetually few understand. The shaman understands it, and also the little child whose ear has not yet learned to distinguish human speech. The fire understands well what they are saying and doing round about it; therefore, it is dangerous to hurt the feelings of the fire, to scold it, to spit upon it, to urinate on it. It will not do to cast into the fire rubbish which adheres to the shoes, for that would cause headache. It is sinful to poke the fire with an iron instrument, and the wooden poker with which they do stir it up must be burned every week, or there will be bad luck in the house. A good housemistress always takes care that the fire may be satisfied with her, and she casts into it a bit of everything which is prepared by its aid. No one ever knows what kind of a fire is burning on the hearth in his house; therefore, it is well to conciliate it from time to time, by little gifts. The fire loves, above all, fat, butter and cream. They sprinkle these often upon it. They told the author, in the northern region, about a people who were said to live on the islands of the Arctic Ocean and who had no knowledge of fire.

"Fire is often presented as a protector and as a symbol of the family and the *sib*. A youth who comes to find a wife dare not pass beyond the strip of light, which falls from the household fire, to go over on the women's side of the house. This would be improper. The same is true for any other person who does not belong to the family. A betrothed man, until he has paid the whole of the bride-price, has no right even to light his pipe at the fire of his affianced; but a wife brought home to the house of her husband, and taking her place in his family, ought first of all to go around behind the fire and cast into it a little butter or fat, to put three splinters into it, and to blow them to a blaze. In general women ought not, as far as they can avoid it, to pass over the strip of light in front of the fireplace; their domain is behind it. In the southern districts the cultus of the fire is dying away year by year; but in the north it is in full force. Besides the domestic fires, there are also wild and wandering fires. If these are lighted by the spirit of the place, when enjoying itself, then they are good fires; but if they are the work of the devil, then it is a bad sign to meet with them."[1]

[1] W. G. Sumner, "The Yakuts" (abridged from the Russian of Sieroshevski) in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 106–107.

Government. "Mass meetings, or popular assemblies, are held, in summer, in the open air, not far from the meeting-house of the *sib*. The oldest and most influential sit in the first rank, on the bare ground, with their legs crossed under them. In the second rank sit or kneel the independent but less wealthy heads of households. In the third rank are the youth, children, poor men, and often women, for the most part standing, in order the better to see and hear. In general it is the first row which decides affairs; the second row sometimes offers its remarks and amendments, but no more. The third rank listens in silence. Sometimes the passions are aroused, and they all scream at once, but the decision of the question is always submitted to the first rank. It conducts the deliberation. The orators come from its ranks. Oratory is highly esteemed, and they have some talented orators. The first rank are distinguished for riches and energy. They can submit or withhold questions; but decisions are never considered binding until confirmed by a mass meeting. According to their traditions, in ancient times, a prominent *rôle* in these assemblies was played by old men, who must, however, have distinguished themselves, and won prestige, by good sense, knowledge and experience. They decided questions according to the customs, and gave advice when the *sib* was in any difficulty."[1]

[1] W. G. Sumner, "The Yakuts" (abridged from the Russian of Sieroshevski) in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, Vol. XXXI, p. 106.

THE WHITE RACE

CHAPTER XXV

HINDUS

Geography. India occupies an area of about 1,766,000 square miles and is situated partly in the tropical and partly in the temperate zones. The country is in the form of a gigantic triangle which may be divided roughly into three parts: the Himalayas, the river plains, and the three-sided table-land in the southern portion. The Himalayas in the north extend in the shape of a scimitar with its edge facing southward for a distance of 1500 miles. These mountains have formed an almost impenetrable barrier across the north, northeast, and northwest, so that it has been difficult for an invading army to enter the country. There are very few passes, and these are at an altitude which makes travel difficult. The word *Himalaya* in Sanscrit means *snow house*. This region has been called the Roof of the World. Its height is such that if the Pyrenees were piled on the Alps, the Himalayas would tower above them by 4000 feet.

At the southern foot of these mountains lies the second great division of India: the river plains of the Indus, the Ganges, and the Brahmaputra. They extend from the Bay of Bengal on the east to the Arabian Sea on the west, and contain the richest and most densely crowded provinces of the country.

The third section comprises the table-land which covers the southern part of the peninsula. This area, which is known as the Deccan, is bounded on two sides by the Ghat Mountains and on the north by the Vindhya Hills. The Ghats take most of the moisture from the monsoons, and this renders the territory which they bound far from fertile.

Weather. The seasons of India may be divided into four: the cold season, during January and February; the hot season, including the months of March, April, and May; the southwestern monsoon period, during June, July, August, September, and October; and the retreating monsoon period in November and December. In southern India the temperature is constant; in the north there are

great extremes of heat and cold. During the hot season in the northern plains the heat is greater than in any other portion of the world, yet it is possible to get to a region of snow and ice in a very few hours. As a refuge the Himalayas play a very important part in the life of the foreigners living in India.

History. India at the present time is a degraded nation, but in the past it had a civilization that ranked with that of Greece and Egypt. It was the home of Hinduism and Buddhism (which latter is more than thirty centuries old), and a great deal of the civilization of China and Japan had its origin here.

"Our earliest glimpses of India disclose two races struggling for the soil, the Dravidians, a dark-skinned race of aborigines, and the Aryans, a fair-skinned people, descending from the northwestern passes. Ultimately the Dravidians were driven back into the southern table-land, and the great plains of Hindustan were occupied by the Aryans, who dominated the history of India for many centuries thereafter."[1]

These latter belonged to that splendid Aryan, or Indo-Germanic stock, from which the Brahman, the Rajput, and the Englishman descended. The earliest home of these people was in central Asia, and from there they started east and west. One branch founded Greece, another Rome, a third Persia, a fourth prehistoric Spain, and a fifth became the ancient inhabitants of England. They carried with them their civilization and language, from which most of the languages of Europe are descended.

We learn of the early history and civilization of the Aryans from the hymns of the Rig-Veda.

"The earlier hymns exhibit the Aryans on the north-western frontiers of India, just starting on their long journey. They show us the Aryans on the banks of the Indus, divided into various tribes, sometimes at war with each other, sometimes united against the 'black-skinned' aborigines. Caste, in its later sense, is unknown. Each father of a family is the priest of his own household. The chieftain acts as father and priest to the tribe; but at the greater festivals he chooses some one specially learned in holy offerings to conduct the sacrifice in the name of the people. The chief himself seems to have been elected. Women enjoyed a high position, and some of the most

[1] W. W. Hunter and J. S. Cotton, in Encyclopædia Britannica, under "India."

beautiful hymns were composed by ladies and queens. Marriage was held sacred. Husband and wife were both 'rulers of the house,' and drew near to the gods together in prayer. The burning of widows on their husbands' funeral-pile was unknown, and the verses in the Veda which the Brahmans afterwards distorted into a sanction for the practice have the very opposite meaning.

"The Aryan tribes in the Veda are acquainted with most of the metals. They have blacksmiths, coppersmiths, and goldsmiths among them, besides carpenters, barbers, and other artisans. They fight from chariots, and freely use the horse, although not yet the elephant, in war. They have settled down as husbandmen, till their fields with the plough, and live in villages or towns. But they also cling to their old wandering life, with their herds and 'cattle pens.' Cattle, indeed, still form their chief wealth, the coin in which payments of fines are made — and one of their words for war literally means a 'desire for cows.' They have learned to build 'ships,' perhaps large river-boats, and seem to have heard something of the sea. Unlike the modern Hindus, the Aryans of the Veda ate beef, used a fermented liquor or beer made from the soma plant, and offered the same strong meat and drink to their gods. Thus the stout Aryans spread eastwards through northern India, pushed on from behind by later arrivals of their own stock, and driving before them, or reducing to bondage, the earlier 'black-skinned' races. They marched in whole communities from one river-valley to another, each housefather a warrior, husbandman and priest, with his wife and his little ones, and cattle."[1]

There are at the present time in India four well-marked ethnographic divisions: first, the non-Aryans, or aborigines; secondly, the Aryan, or Sanskrit-speaking peoples; thirdly, a mixture of the above two; and fourthly, the Mohammedan invaders, who came down from the northwest. These are scattered over all India, but usually in each locality there is a preponderance of one or the other stock. However, the barriers between these divisions have become so confused that the classification is made not along lines of blood or language but on that of caste and religion.

Physical features. The Hindus are of middle size, with delicate and slender limbs. The color of the skin varies from a dark yellow

[1] W. W. Hunter and J. S. Cotton, in Encyclopædia Britannica, under "India."

to a deep bronze or soot-black, which may be accounted for by mixture with the Dravidians. The hair, which is abundant on the face and head, is black, long, and curly. The shape of the skull is mesocephalic. The face is oval, the eyes large and dark, the eyebrows curved and finely formed. The nose has frequently a Roman shape.

Caste. Before taking up a discussion of the social life of the people of India it is important to consider the caste system, for in it lies the basis for all of their actions, both social and religious. The cardinal principle which underlies the system of caste is the preservation of purity of descent, and purity of religious beliefs and ceremonial usage. There are four principal castes in India, with many subdivisions. The inventors of this social despotism were naturally the highest in the scale, the Brahmans, or priests, who claim that they sprang from the mouth of the Brahma, the Supreme Being. The Kshatriyas, or warriors, are the second class, and sprang from the arms of Brahma. The third class, the Vaisyas, or landholders and merchants, came from the thighs of the god; and the last class, the Sudras, or cultivators and menials, came from the feet of Brahma. Below these are the Pariahs, who are casteless and are regarded as almost too vile to belong to humanity.

The Hindu adheres to this system with a tenacity which ends only with his life.

"The different castes will by no means intermarry; sometimes women of high castes elope with men of lower ones; and more frequently men of high caste take into their houses women that belong to the lower: — but *intermarriage* there is none. The distinction of caste is so rigidly adhered to, that a man of a lower caste might be dying, but a man of a higher one would refuse to let him take water out of his cup, lest it should be defiled. A Hindu would, in general, rather see his fellow man die than pass the bounds of caste to help him. According to this system the son is not at liberty to follow any trade or profession that he pleases, but must perforce continue in that which his father and forefathers have practised before him; — doing otherwise would be followed by excommunication."[1]

Brahmans. When a Brahman boy reaches the age of eight or nine a thin cord called *janeo* is placed around his body. Before this time he is considered a mere child, who possesses no religion and can eat

[1] I. Dass, Manners and Customs of the Hindus of Northern India, p. 15.

without bathing, but after the cord is put on he becomes one of the class of priests and must conform to the rules which govern them.

"A young Brahman, when he can learn, begins to study at an early age. All the Sanscrit writings are considered sacred and divine and their grammars take the same rank. Sanscrit has become a dead language, and very few people can understand it well: and though this is the case, learned Brahmans, who intend to give their boys a good education, would never think of teaching them Hindee first, which in the present age is their mother tongue and which the boys could learn easily. Were they to learn Hindee first, they would be better prepared to study Sanscrit; but it is beneath their dignity, and thus a boy at once commences to repeat Sanscrit sounds, parrot-like, out of his grammar without understanding in the least degree what he repeats; this he does for seven or eight years; after which the tutor begins to explain to him what he has been repeating so long. . . .

"After studying one or two grammars the young Brahman goes on with other Sanscrit books, if he be in good circumstances and if his father wishes him to be a tolerably learned man; — if not, he only studies that book which teaches him the duties of a priest; this being soon over, those who stop here are not much wiser than those who have never studied any thing."[1]

There are four stages through which a pious Brahman must pass during life. He must be a religious student, a householder, an anchorite, and a religious mendicant.

"On the youth having been invested with the badge of his caste, he was to reside for some time in the house of some religious teacher, well read in the Veda, to be instructed in the knowledge of the scriptures and the scientific or theoretic treatises attached to them, in the social duties of his caste, and in the complicated system of purificatory and sacrificial rites. According to the number of Vedas he intended to study, the duration of this period of instruction was to be, probably in the case of Brahmanical students chiefly, of from twelve to forty-eight years; during which time the virtues of modesty, duty, temperance and self-control were to be firmly implanted in the youth's mind by his unremitting observance of the most minute rules of conduct. During all this time the student had to subsist

[1] I. Dass, Manners and Customs of the Hindus of Northern India, pp. 16–17.

entirely on food obtained by begging from house to house; and his behaviour towards the preceptor and his family was to be that prompted by respectful attachment and implicit obedience. In the case of girls no investure takes place, but for them the nuptial ceremony is considered as an equivalent to that rite. On quitting the teacher's abode, the young man returns to his family and takes a wife. To die without leaving legitimate offspring, and especially a son, capable of performing the periodical rites of obsequies, consisting of offerings of water and balls of rice, to himself and his two immediate ancestors, is considered a great misfortune by the orthodox Hindu. There are three sacred 'debts' which a man has to discharge in life, viz., that which is due to the gods, and of which he acquits himself by daily worship and sacrificial rites; that due to the ancient sages and inspired seers of the Vedic texts, discharged by the daily study of the scripture; and the 'final debt' which he owes to his *manes*, and of which he relieves himself by leaving a son. To these three some authorities add a fourth viz., the debt owing to humankind, which demands his continually practising kindness and hospitality. Hence the necessity of a man's entering into the married state. When the bridegroom leads the bride from her father's house to his own home, and becomes a householder, the fire which has been used for the marriage ceremony accompanies the couple to serve them as their domestic fire. It has to be kept up perpetually, day and night, either by themselves or their children, or, if the man be a teacher, by his pupils. If it should at any time become extinguished by neglect or otherwise, the guilt incurred thereby must be atoned for by an act of expiation. The domestic fire serves the family for preparing their food, for making the five necessary daily and other occasional offerings, and for performing the sacramental rites above alluded to.

"When the householder is advanced in years, 'when he perceives his skin become wrinkled and his hair grey, when he sees the son of his son,' the time is said to have come for him to enter the third stage of life. He should now disengage himself from all family ties — except that his wife may accompany him, if she chooses — and repair to a lonely wood, taking with him his sacred fires and the implements required for the daily and periodical offerings. Clad in a deer's skin, in a single piece of cloth, or in a bark garment, with his

hair and nails uncut, the hermit is to subsist exclusively on food growing wild in the forest, such as roots, green herbs, and wild rice and grain. He must not accept gifts from any one, except of what may be absolutely necessary to maintain him; but with his own little hoard he should, on the contrary, honour, to the best of his ability, those who visit his hermitage. His time must be spent in reading the metaphysical treatises of the Veda, in making oblations, and in undergoing various kinds of privation and austerities, with a view to mortifying his passions and producing in his mind an entire indifference to worldly objects. Having by these means succeeded in overcoming all sensual affections and desires, and in acquiring perfect equanimity towards everything around him, the hermit has fitted himself for the final and most exalted order, that of devotee or religious mendicant. As such he has no further need of either mortifications or religious observances; but 'with the sacrificial fires reposited in his mind,' he may devote the remainder of his days to meditating on the divinity. Taking up his abode at the foot of a tree in total solitude, 'with no companion but his own soul,' clad in a coarse garment, he should carefully avoid injuring any creature or giving offense to any human being that may happen to come near him. Once a day, in the evening, 'when the charcoal fire is extinguished and the smoke no longer issues from the fire-places, when the pestle is at rest, when the people have taken their meals and the dishes are removed,' he should go near the habitations of men, in order to beg what little food may suffice to sustain his feeble frame. Ever pure of mind he should thus abide his time, 'as a servant expects his wages,' wishing neither for death, nor for life, until at last his soul is freed from its fetters and absorbed in the eternal spirit, the impersonal self-existent Brahma."[1]

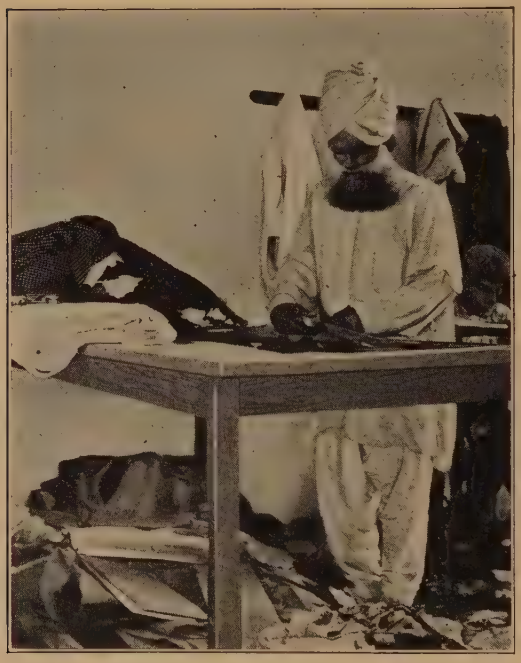
Warriors. The duty of the members of this class, as set down in the Hindu scriptures, is to fight for their country. They are allowed to study the Sanscrit language, but must not read the Rig-Veda. The members of this class look with contempt on all castes below them.

Landholders and merchants. Practically all the trade of India, both wholesale and retail, is carried on by this third class. Many of them have little shops, hardly more than coops in the wall, in which

[1] H. J. Eggeling, in Encyclopædia Britannica, under "Brahmanism."

they sit in a cross-legged position surrounded by their wares. Many of them are wealthy bankers and money-changers, especially in the larger towns and cities, where this business is very lucrative. Of all the four principal classes into which Hindus are divided, this is by far the wealthiest, and some of its members are possessed of immense personal fortunes which they have accumulated through the years.

"The people of this class are very effeminate. They cannot endure hard work; and when they quarrel and have high words, they seldom come to blows. The saying is very common in the country that when they quarrel and threaten each other, 'their bark is worse than their bite,' instead of using the stones and brickbats that may be lying loose in the streets, they will pretend to loosen those that are fast in the ground; these they are unable to loosen at the time, and thus save themselves the exertion required in throwing stones at each other. As they very seldom do any hard work, the majority of them, being merchants in some way or other, sit in their shops, tailor-fashion, the whole day, and at the same time live on nourishing diet, they are inclined to be corpulent. They are the most avaricious class in the country."[1]



AN INDIAN MASTER TAILOR
Photograph from James's Press Agency, London

Sudras, or cultivators and menials. "The Sudras are the most numerous of the four main castes. They form, in fact, the mass of the population, and added to the Pariahs, or outcasts, they represent at least nine-tenths of the inhabitants. When we consider that the

[1] I. Dass, Manners and Customs of the Hindus of Northern India, p. 31.

Sudras possess almost a monopoly of the various forms of artisan employment and manual labour, and that in India no person can exercise two professions at a time, it is not surprising that the numerous individuals who form this main caste are distributed over so many distinct branches. . . .

"It should be remarked, however, that those Sudra castes which are occupied exclusively in employments indispensable to all civilized societies are to be found everywhere under names varying with the

NATIVES MAKING POTTERY AT AGRA
Photograph from James's Press Agency, London

languages of different localities. Of such I may cite, amongst others, the gardeners, the shepherds, the weavers, the *Panchalas* (the five castes of artisans, comprising the carpenters, goldsmiths, blacksmiths, founders, and in general all workers in metals), the manufacturers and venders of oil, the fishermen, the potters, the washermen, the barbers, and some others. All these form part of the great main caste of Sudras; but the different castes of cultivators hold the first rank and disdainfully regard as their inferiors all those belonging to the professions just mentioned, refusing to eat with those who practise them."[1]

[1] J. A. Dubois and H. K. Beauchamp, Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies, Vol. I, pp. 16, 17.

In this fourth class are also the writers, teachers, and lawyers. Since few of the natives are able to write, these men act as scribes and record deeds for land sold.

Expulsion from caste. There are various offenses which will cause a man to be expelled from his caste, into which it is often impossible for him to be reinstated.

"This expulsion from caste, which follows either an infringement of caste usages or some public offence calculated if left unpunished to bring dishonour on the whole community, is a kind of social excommunication, which deprives the unhappy person who suffers it of all intercourse with his fellow creatures. It renders him, as it were, dead to the world, and leaves him nothing in common with the rest of society. In losing his caste he loses not only his relations and friends, but often his wife and his children, who would rather leave him to his fate than share his disgrace with him. Nobody dare eat with him or even give him a drop of water. If he has marriageable daughters nobody asks them in marriage, and in like manner his sons are refused wives. He has to take it for granted that wherever he goes he will be avoided, pointed at with scorn, and regarded as an outcast.

"If, after losing caste, a Hindu could obtain admission into an inferior caste, his punishment would in some degree be tolerable; but even this humiliating compensation is denied to him. A simple Sudra with any notions of honour and propriety would never associate or even speak with a Brahman degraded in this manner. It is necessary, therefore, for an outcast to seek asylum in the lowest class of Pariahs if he fail to obtain restoration to his own; or else he is obliged to associate with persons of doubtful caste. There are always people of this kind, especially in the quarters inhabited by Europeans; and unhappy is the man who puts trust in them! A caste Hindu is often a thief and a bad character, but a Hindu without caste is almost always a rogue." [1]

Slight unintentional offenses will often cause a man or a whole family to be expelled.

"A number of Brahmans assembled together for some family ceremony once admitted to their feast, without being aware of it, a Sudra

[1] J. A. Dubois and H. K. Beauchamp, Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies, Vol. I, p. 38.

who had gained admittance on the false assertion that he belonged to their caste. On the circumstance being discovered, these Brahmans were one and all outcasted, and were unable to obtain reinstatement until they had gone through all kinds of formalities and been subjected to considerable expense.

"I once witnessed amongst the shepherds an instance of even greater severity. A marriage had been arranged, and in the presence of the family concerned, certain ceremonies which were equivalent to a betrothal amongst ourselves had taken place. Before the actual celebration of the marriage, which was fixed for a considerable time afterwards, the bridegroom died. The parents of the girl, who was very young and pretty, thereupon married her to another man. This was in direct violation of the custom of the caste which condemns to perpetual widowhood girls thus betrothed, even when, as in this case, the future bridegroom dies before marriage has been consummated. The consequence was that all the persons who had taken part in the second ceremony were expelled from caste, and nobody would contract marriage or have any intercourse whatever with them. A long time afterwards I met several of them, well advanced in age, who had been for this reason alone unable to obtain husbands or wives, as the case might be." [1]

Self-maintenance. India is almost entirely an agricultural country. According to one of the latest census reports two thirds of the total population are employed in connection with the land, and not one tenth of that number are supported by any other single industry.

"The prosperity of agriculture therefore is of overwhelming importance to the people of India, and all other industries are only subsidiary to this main occupation. This excessive dependence upon a single industry, which is in its turn dependent upon the accident of the seasons, upon a favorable or unfavorable monsoon, has been held to be one of the main causes of the frequent famines which ravage India. . . . [In one year alone over five million people died from lack of nourishment, due to the failure of the rains.]

"But though agriculture thus forms the staple industry of the country, its practice is pursued in different provinces with infinite variety of detail. Everywhere the same perpetual assiduity is found, but the

[1] J. A. Dubois and H. K. Beauchamp, Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies, Vol. I, pp. 38–40.

inherited experience of generations has taught the cultivators to adapt their simple methods to differing circumstances. For irrigation, native patience and ingenuity have devised means which compare not unfavorably with the colossal projects of government."[1]

After a good rainy season and at other times when there are heavy falls of rain the agriculturist is saved the trouble of artificial irrigation. During the rainy season he builds low walls of earth around his field in order to catch all the moisture which falls. Wells are situated near most of the fields, to be used when the period of drought sets in. The water is drawn up in leather bags by means of bullocks and dumped into little ditches, which carry it to various parts of the fields.

AN INDIAN WATER-CARRIER
Photograph from James's Press Agency, London

"A farmer's business is known to be flourishing, or otherwise, by the number of ploughs that he can use on his farm and the number of pairs of bullocks that he can keep. If he is a poor man, he can cultivate a few acres only, and can keep one pair of bullocks. The produce of such a piece of land can support (provided there be a timely and sufficient quantity of rain) a family of six or seven persons,—this number including two or three children. If a farmer is in good circumstances, he can cultivate more land and keep four or five pairs of bullocks, his income is larger, and he can have a larger house, a great many brass cooking and eating utensils in his house. The women of his family can have silver and gold ornaments, and use finer and gayer stuffs for their dresses; he can oftener use finer flour and more ghee (clarified butter) in the prepa-

[1] W. W. Hunter and J. S. Cotton, in Encyclopædia Britannica, under "India."

ration of his dishes; he can with ease and convenience keep two or three cows and buffaloes, and have an abundance of milk and butter; and he can spend larger sums in weddings and feasts and thus make more noise in the world than his poorer neighbors; in fine, he can live in comparative luxury."[1]

While the natives know how to fertilize their fields and realize the value of the rotation of crops, yet, because of the conservatism of their religion, they have not advanced as rapidly as they should.

A NATIVE LAUNDRY, CASHMIR, INDIA
Photograph from James's Press Agency, London

They use the same kind of crude wooden plow drawn by bullocks as was used hundreds of years before Christ; the grain is threshed by being trodden on by bullocks, and it is winnowed by being thrown up in the air, for the wind to carry away the chaff.

One of their most important crops is wheat; in fact, India is third or fourth in the world production of this grain. However, most of it is exported, for the common people are too poor to eat it. Their food consists largely of millet and, in some places, rice. To the native peoples perhaps the palm tree has the greatest value, for they get from it many articles of daily use. They make ropes and mats

[1] I. Dass, Manners and Customs of the Hindus of Northern India, pp. 39–40.

from the bark; baskets, hats, and fans from the leaves; clothing, sails, and nets from the fiber of the nut; sugar from the sap; milk from the green fruit; solid food from the ripe fruit; and oil from the kernel.

Cattle as an economic resource do not figure to any extent in India, for the animals are held sacred and may not be killed for food. The milk is available, however, for drinking and for making butter.

ROTI KABAB (BREAD AND MEAT)

A wayside Mohammedan restaurant. (Photograph from James's Press Agency, London)

Should a man of higher caste eat any beef he would be ostracized at once, and no power on earth could reinstate him. Even to ask a Hindu if he eats meat, although it is a well-known fact that he does so, is to insult him deeply; and to offer meat at a meal to a guest with whom one is not intimate would be the height of rudeness.

"Hindus who eat meat do so only in the privacy of their own families, or in company with near relatives or intimate friends. Even the common Sudras do not offer meat at their festive gatherings, such as wedding feasts. Were they to do so, their guests would consider themselves insulted, and would leave immediately."[1]

[1] J. A. Dubois and H. K. Beauchamp, Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies, Vol. I, p. 192.

The sacred cows and bulls are allowed to wander at will through the temples and streets of the cities, bedecked with garlands put there by the worshiping people, and are permitted to eat where they will at the food stalls in the bazaars. The British government has done all in its power to rid the towns of these sacred pests.

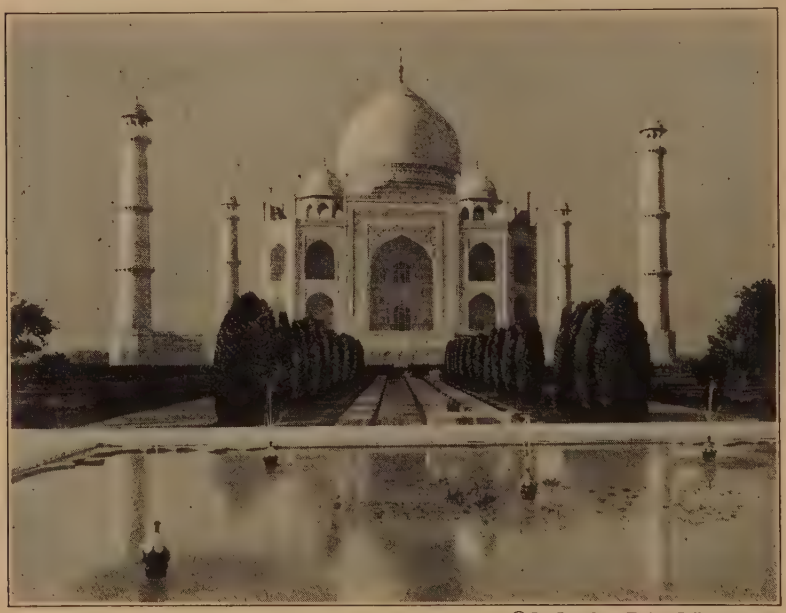
The religious veneration of animals is carried to such an extent that the people will not kill even those that are dangerous to life

THE BRIDGE OF SHOPS, SRINAGAR, CASHMIR
Photograph from James's Press Agency, London

and limb. In one year over 19,000 people died by snake bites, 947 were slain by tigers, 260 by leopards, and 182 by wolves. During this same period 80,000 head of cattle were killed by these various animals.

Buildings. There is in India a combination of a very high and a very low civilization. This is shown in no clearer way than in the contrast between the various types of buildings, which range from the crudest mud huts to one of the most beautiful buildings the world has ever seen — the Taj Mahal. The poor people in the country live in mud houses one story high; those a little better off have two stories; still others have three. In these houses each room has but one door, and that just high enough for a man to enter. Several houses

usually face a small open square, where the members of the related families who occupy the houses sit and talk, and where the cattle are kept during the hot part of the day. Each house has two or three small rooms, one of which is used for cooking and the others for sleeping and storing. In front of each house is a small porch where water is kept and where the women sit. At the gate leading into the



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THE TAJ MAHAL AT AGRA, THE WORLD'S MOST BEAUTIFUL PIECE OF ARCHITECTURE

This costly memorial of white alabaster, which is the tomb of the favorite wife of Shah Jehan (1629–1650) was erected by the grief-stricken Shah as a symbol of the purity of the woman he idolized. The structure cost more than $9,000,000

courtyard there is a room where the men sit when not at work, and where strangers and visitors are received. Strangers may go into the courtyard whenever there is an occasion for it, but not otherwise; when they do so, it is never without permission, and they are always accompanied by a member of the household.[1]

The Taj Mahal. In contrast to the simple mud buildings in which most of the people live, is the Taj Mahal, which has been called "the most splendidly poetic building in the world." This famous

[1] I. Dass, Manners and Customs of the Hindus of Northern India, pp. 120–121.

mausoleum was erected in 1632 at Agra by Shah Jehan to hold the remains of his favorite wife. To complete this edifice twenty thousand men labored twenty years.

The Taj stands on a platform of white marble 18 feet high and 313 square with tapering minarets 133 feet high at the corners. The building itself is 186 feet square and is crowned by a dome 210 feet high.

"The interior consists of four domed chambers in the corners and an octagon in the center. The walls are of white marble and have flowers sculptured on them. Around and in these are inlaid agate, jasper, bloodstone, and carnelian. Surrounding the octagon in the center is a screen of alabaster, and so finely is this carved that it needs the touch to determine whether it is made of lace or of stone. In the center are two marble cenotaphs completely covered with mosaic-work in precious stones, one hundred being sometimes used to represent a single flower; and through this mass of floral decorations runs a delicate Persian script, telling the story of these royal lovers in lines of which each letter is a gem."[1] The bodies of the Shah and his wife lie in these tombs.

Household customs. The Hindus have two meals a day: the one in the morning between eleven and twelve, the other in the evening, two or three hours after sunset. The workers get up in the morning and start to work at once. Before the first meal they bathe either in a river or with water drawn from a well. They are then clean and will not touch a person of lower caste for fear of being polluted. When they eat they take off all their clothes except a piece of cloth around the waist. Meals are served on the kitchen floor, which is kept very clean. The men eat before the women, who do all the cooking, bringing in the food and serving it. Should a man while eating be touched by a person of lower caste, he will immediately get up and leave his food, ejecting that which he has in his mouth.

Marriage. The Hindus believe that a woman is made for marriage, and as soon as a girl is born they begin to make plans for her wedding; but the matter is not actively entered into until she has reached the age of five or six. As she grows up her ears are constantly filled with the talk of marriage. Continually hearing of her own wedding and that of other children about her, her mind is elated with the idea of being married soon; hearing so much of

[1] J. L. Stoddard, India, pp. 109–110.

it, she naturally thinks it a state of the greatest happiness, and that there is no happiness without it.

When a girl has reached the age of six or seven, and the parents decide that it is time for her to marry, they call together the nearest relations and request them to find a suitable boy for their girl. The boys are usually sixteen, twenty, or even older before they marry. After much deliberation a boy is found, and his horoscope is compared with that of the girl. If the priest finds that the stars of the boy are more powerful than those of the girl, he concludes that the marriage will be successful; but if the stars bear the opposite relation, he advises the parents of the girl to look for another boy.

When the boy has been decided upon, and the financial arrangements on both sides are found to be satisfactory (for the girls are always sold to the highest bidder), the first ceremony takes place at the home of the groom. The girl's parents send their priest and the family barber, laden with clothes, money, and jewels, to the groom and his parents. After worship by both sides, the barber puts a mark on the forehead of the boy; this is the first seal of the marriage. After several days' visit these emissaries depart for home, laden with presents to the bride.

On the day of the wedding the groom goes to the home of the bride. He is attended by many male relatives and friends, and with the procession are musicians, singers, and dancers. There is much music, shooting of guns, and fireworks, if the groom is wealthy enough to afford these things; if not, he has as much show as he is able to pay for. As they approach the house of the bride some of her relatives come out to give presents to the groom and to bid him welcome. When the party reaches the house, the ceremonies begin in a shed which has been erected in the courtyard.

During the ceremonies prayers are offered, presents are exchanged, hands are ceremonially washed, and sacrifices are made. The most significant rite in the wedding is the tying together of the upper garments of the bride and groom while the priest repeats the names of certain gods. The father of the girl puts her hand into that of the groom, and they both walk around a fire in which incense is burning. After a few more ceremonies the groom is addressed as follows:

"The bride says to you — 'If you live happy, keep me happy also; if you be in trouble, I will be in trouble too; you must support me,

and must not leave me when I suffer. You must always keep me with you and pardon all my faults; and your poojas, pilgrimages, fasting, incense, and all other religious duties, you must not perform without me; you must not defraud me regarding conjugal love; you must have nothing to do with another woman while I live; you must consult me in all that you do, and you must always tell me the truth. Vishnoo, fire, and the Brahmans are witnesses between you and me.'

GIRLS OF THE DOM TRIBE, INDIA

Photograph from James's Press Agency, London

To this the bridegroom replies — 'I will all my lifetime do just as the bride requires of me. But she must also make me some promises. She must go with me through suffering and trouble, and must always be obedient to me; she must never go to her father's house, unless she is asked by him; and when she sees another man in better circumstances or more beautiful than I am, she must not despise or slight me.' To this the girl answers — 'I will all my life do just as you require of me; Vishnoo, fire, Brahmans and all present are witnesses between us.' After this the bridegroom takes some water in his hand, the Pandit repeats something, and the former sprinkles it on the bride's head; then the bride and the bridegroom both bow

before the Sun in worship. After this the bridegroom carries his hand over the right shoulder of the bride and touches her heart, and then puts some *bundun* (a coloured powder) on her màng or line on her head, and puts his shoes on her feet, but immediately takes them off again."[1]

The wedding is now over; but if the bride is too young she goes back to live with her parents. If she is old enough a further rite is performed, in which the bride sits on a board belonging to the groom, and the groom on one belonging to the bride. The married women then put bells and ornaments on the feet of the bride, and the ceremony is complete.

Widows. "A woman's period of temporal happiness ceases when she becomes a widow; her state then is utterly helpless, unless she has a grown up son, or an affectionate brother, or some other kind near relation to support her. If she has nobody to help her, she takes off all her ornaments, which were never off her person during her husband's lifetime; but if she has a son or a brother to maintain her, she leaves two or three of them on her person to signify that she is not utterly helpless. A widow does not wear fine or attractive clothes; — this is to show her bereaved state. Widows among the higher classes can never marry again. They might be very young, and might never have lived with their husbands, still they can never be joined to other men; the simple performance of the marriage ceremonies prevents this. As death cuts down both the old and the young, many boys, of course, who are married, die; their wives may be six or seven years old; these poor creatures are called widows, and have to pass their lives in misery; from that time they have not the least prospect of happiness, and the world is to them quite gloomy and dark. As might be expected, many of them, when in the vigour of youth or womanhood, elope with men, who offer them temptations. Widows of the middle and lower classes can marry again, and many of them who are in the prime of life, or those who have no means of support, avail themselves of this liberty. Some of them, however, who have friends to help them, refuse a second marriage .... The reason of this refusal is the regard they have for the memory of their departed husbands." [2]

[1] I. Dass, Manners and Customs of the Hindus of Northern India, p. 186.
[2] Ibid. pp. 176–177.

Before the occupation of India by the English the custom of the suttee, or wife-sacrifice, was in practice. A widow was expected to throw herself upon the funeral pyre of her husband. By so doing she expected to have several million years with her husband in Paradise and at the same time escape the horrors of the life of a widow on earth. When a man had more than one wife, it was the custom for them to draw lots to see which was to be the fortunate one.

TAKING HIS MOTHER TO CHURCH, INDIA
Photograph from James's Press Agency, London

The position of woman. The position of women in India is little better than that of slaves. "Their only vocation in life being to minister to man's physical pleasures and wants, they are considered incapable of developing any of those higher mental qualities which would make them more worthy of consideration and also more capable of playing a useful part in life. Their intellect is thought to be of such a very low order, that when a man has done anything particularly foolish or thoughtless, his friends say he has no more sense than a woman. One of the principal precepts taught in Hindu books, and one that is everywhere recognized as true, is, that women should be kept in a state of dependence, and subjection, all their lives, and under no circumstances should they be allowed to become their own mistresses. . . .

"As a natural consequence of these views, female education is alto-

gether neglected. A young girl's mind remains totally uncultivated, though many of them have good abilities. In fact, of what use would learning or accomplishments be to women who are still in such a state of domestic degradation and servitude? All that a Hindu woman need know is how to grind and boil rice and look after her household affairs, which are neither numerous nor difficult to manage.

"Courtesans, whose business in life is to dance in the temples and at public ceremonies, and prostitutes, are the only women who are allowed to learn to read, sing, or dance. It would be thought a disgrace for a respectable woman to learn to read, and even if she had learnt, she would be ashamed to own it. As for dancing, it is left absolutely to courtesans; and even they never dance with men. Respectable women sometimes amuse themselves by singing when they are alone, looking after their household duties, and also on the occasions of weddings or other family festivities; but they would never dare to sing in public or before strangers. . . .

"As a rule, a husband addresses his wife in terms which show how little he thinks of her. Servant, slave, etc., and other equally flattering appellations, fall quite naturally from his lips.

"A woman, on the other hand, never addresses her husband except in terms of the greatest humility. She speaks to him as my master, my lord, and even sometimes my god. In her awe of him she does not venture to call him by his name; and should she forget herself in this way in a moment of anger, she would be thought a very low class person, and would lay herself open to personal chastisement from her offended spouse."[1]

The principal daily household duties of a Hindu wife are grinding, washing the floor of the room where they cook and eat, drawing water, cooking, and scouring cooking utensils, jugs and plates. Some of those that are wealthy are exempt from most of these duties, but the majority perform them.

Children. "Among the Hindus there is a great desire for male children for the following reasons: — in the first place, they expect them to perpetuate their names; secondly, they hope to be supported by them in old age; thirdly, for the performance of funeral obsequies; and lastly, they are pleased with the thought that there will be an

[1] J. A. Dubois and H. K. Beauchamp, Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies, Vol. I, pp. 339, 340, 342.

increase of their nearer relations or of those who will be under their immediate paternal government. For these reasons that man is considered very highly favoured who has only boys in his family. These objects are not accomplished by female children; they have consequently no desire for daughters and girls are not valued like boys. . . .

"Rajpoots or people of the warrior's caste have a great dislike to female issue and have been in the habit of killing their daughters some way or other at the time of their birth. The reason why these Rajpoots do not like to have female children is that according to their peculiar custom they have to be at a great expense in marrying their daughters; the poorest must expend hundreds, and the wealthiest thousands of rupees. The former never expect to be able to marry them on account of their poverty, and the latter would rather destroy their daughters than part with their wealth."[1]

Amusements. The amusements of the Hindus are similar to those found among others at this stage of development. Several specialties of the country may be cited.

"Periodically, for many years past, we have seen, in books of travel and in the newspapers, accounts of the wonderful performances of jugglers in India. It has been asserted that many of these men are very clever in their ability to deceive the public and that even Europeans have failed to fathom their secrets. According to some reports they will throw a rope into the air, and it will apparently stay there without any means of support. A man is said to climb this rope and to disappear when he reaches the top. Count de Gubernatis, the eminent professor and Oriental scholar at Florence, informed the present writer that he had recently seen and studied these exhibitions, and that, so far from being wonderful, they were much inferior to the jugglery so well known in our western capitals."[2]

In this same general class of people are the snake-charmers. These men have baskets of snakes which they carry with them. By blowing on little flutes they cause the snakes to behave in a fantastic manner. They claim to be able to rid a house of any snakes that may be in it.

There are frequent puppet performances, which are very similar to the Punch and Judy shows in this country. A man stands in back of the little stage to work the figures while another in front recites

[1] I. Dass, Manners and Customs of the Hindus of Northern India, pp. 152–153, 171.
[2] A. D. White, Warfare of Science and Theology, pp. 166–167, note.

and sings to accompany the actions. But the greatest source of amusement and diversion to the Hindu is the dancing-girls. They appear at weddings and on many of the principal holidays. In general they lead an irregular life. They are all good-looking, and some have extraordinary beauty, for upon this depends their success. The following description is given by one who has witnessed many of their dances:

"The dancing girls who perform at private entertainments adapt their movements to the taste and character of those before whom

AN INDIAN SNAKE-CHARMER

Photograph from James's Press Agency, London

they exhibit. Here, as in public, they are accompanied by musicians playing on instruments resembling the violin and guitar. Their dances require great attention from the dancers' feet being hung with small bells, which act in concert with the music. Two girls usually perform at the same time; their steps are not so mazy and active as ours, but much more interesting; as the song, the music, and the motions of the dance combine to express love, hope, jealousy, despair, and the passions so well known to lovers, and very easy to be understood by those who are ignorant of other languages."[1]

[1] I. Dass, Manners and Customs of the Hindus of Northern India, p. 151.

Clothing. "A woman's costume consists of a simple piece of cotton cloth, made all in one piece, and woven expressly for the purpose. It is from thirty to forty feet long, and rather more than four feet wide. All sorts and kinds are made, in every shade and at every price, and they always have a border of a contrasting colour. The women wind part of this cloth two or three times round their waists, and it forms a sort of narrow petticoat which falls to the feet in front; it does not come so far down behind, as one of the ends of the cloth is tucked in at the waist after passing between the legs, which are thus left bare as far as, or even above, the calf. This arrangement is peculiar to Brahman women; those of other castes arrange their draperies with more decency and modesty. The other end of the cloth covers the shoulders, head, and chest. Thus the clothing for both sexes is made without seams or sewing — an undeniable convenience, considering how often they have to bathe themselves and wash their garments; for Brahman women have to observe the same rules of purification as the men, and are equally zealous in the performance of this duty. The custom of women veiling their faces has never been practised in India, though it has been in use among many other Asiatic nations from time immemorial. Here the women always go about with their faces uncovered, and in some parts of the country they also expose the upper half of their bodies."[1]

The Hindus are all fond of ornament, and a man's wealth is judged by the amount of gold, silver, and precious stones which he and the members of his family can wear. Silver and gold rings are worn on the arms, ankles, in the ears, and even through the nose. Around the neck are worn strings of pearls and other stones and heavy gold chains. Many women have on their feet a veritable chain-armor of gold and silver, with bells attached to each toe, which tinkle as they walk. To make the hair more glossy and silky, they oil it; it is parted in the middle, and a large knot is constructed behind the left ear. Favorite hair decorations are sweet-smelling flowers.

Religion. There are many religions at the present time in India. The one which has the greatest following is Hinduism, with over two hundred and seven million adherents. The term "Brahmanism" is frequently used in connection with this religion.

[1] J. A. Dubois and H. K. Beauchamp, Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies, Vol. I, pp. 343–344.

Hinduism. Hinduism is an aggregate of many forms of belief and did not spring from the teachings of any one man, as did Mohammedanism, Buddhism, and Christianity.

"The oldest document of Indian religion, and indeed of Aryan religion in general, is the Rig-Veda, or 'Lore of the Verses,' a collection of hymns to various gods which were composed for the worship of the Aryan tribes invading India, during the earlier centuries of their dwelling in the land. . . . Some of the deities thus worshipped are

A HINDU FUNERAL IN THE STREETS OF DELHI
Photograph from James's Press Agency, London

simply forces of nature, over whose purely physical character the poets cast only a thin veil of allegory and metaphor. Such are Father Heaven, and Mother Earth, the Dawn-goddess, the Sun-god, and the Wind-god. With other deities new attributes and trains of ideas have been connected which tend to obscure their original character." [1]

As the years advanced, the number of gods increased, until finally out of the great number arose three principal ones: Brahma, the god of creation, Vishnu, the god of preservation, and Siva, the god of destruction. The worship of these three, together with the conception of the caste system, form the kernel of Hinduism. Besides these

[1] L. D. Barnett, Hinduism, p. 4.

three main gods, the pious Hindu reckons there are numerous lesser ones to the number of three hundred and thirty millions.

The Hindus believe in the sanctity of all life, and hence the animals come in for their share of the worship. To this belief is now added the almost universal doctrine of the incarnation of souls in every kind of living thing. It is safe to say that there is not an object on earth which the ordinary Hindu is not prepared to worship.

Nearly all the acts of life have some religious ceremonial connected with them, and this is especially true in the higher castes.

A HINDU BURNING-GHAT

The natives are piling up logs around the corpse. (Photograph from James's Press Agency, London)

To those who hold strongly to the religious teachings, there is a feeling that some time in their lives they must make a special trip to the river Ganges. They think that by washing in its sacred water their sins will be carried away, and if they can die on its banks the future life will be one long period of bliss for them.

If possible, bodies are burned by the river. Before the English rule was felt, if the people were wealthy, enough wood was used to consume the corpse; but if they were poor, the body was half burned and then thrown in the river among the bathers.

In certain parts of India where the Parsee religion is dominant

bodies of the dead are consumed by birds. Circular buildings of white stone, known as "Towers of Silence," are situated in groves of trees. The bodies are brought in by the priests and placed on iron gratings open to the sky. Within fifteen minutes only the bones are left, and these soon fall to a crypt below.

Buddhism arose in India about 600 B.C. The teachings of Gautama Buddha spread rapidly over the land. While Hinduism was not by any means given up, yet it was greatly modified during the years that this religion of Gautama was in the ascendency. When Mohammedanism came into India about A.D. 1000, Buddhism finally disappeared, but even before this time it was gradually losing its hold on the people and today it is practically nonexistent in the land of its birth. After Buddhism waned in popularity, Hinduism again arose to demand the allegiance of the people, but it was different from its original form. It has continued to maintain its supremacy and is today only challenged by Islam, an alien religion that has come into the land and claims about 66,000,000 adherents.[1]

[1] Adapted from E. D. Soper, The Religions of Mankind, pp. 169–170.

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